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ABSTRACT

For years, international literature has neglected the special features of educational planning in small countries. The recognition of small countries has increased over the last two decades, as they have begun to play a more important role in world politics. This three-part book evaluates the nature of the ecology of small countries and its implications for educational planning. The strategies of small countries for developing education are contrasted with strategies of larger countries. The first part focuses on contexts, approaches, and structures. It discusses the dimensions of scale, the nature of educational planning in small countries, sources of expertise, and international linkages. The second part focuses on components specific to planning. Separate chapters focus in turn on special education, postsecondary education, and curriculum development. The third and last part brings together what can be, is being, and should be done by the small countries themselves, larger countries, and organizations such as UNESCO. Twenty-six recommended readings are listed. (46 references) (LAP)

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Educational planning in small countries

Mark Bray

University of Hong Kong

UNESCO

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Second, I acknowledge a particular debt to Steve Packer of the Commonwealth Secretariat. Steve was responsible for a 1985 Commonwealth Secretariat workshop in Mauritius which brought small-country educators together for the first gathering of its kind. He has since spearheaded further Commonwealth Secretariat work in this topic, which is of considerable conceptual and practical value. With specific reference to this book, I gratefully acknowledge permission to use materials from a Commonwealth Secretariat project on the organization and management of ministries of education in small states.

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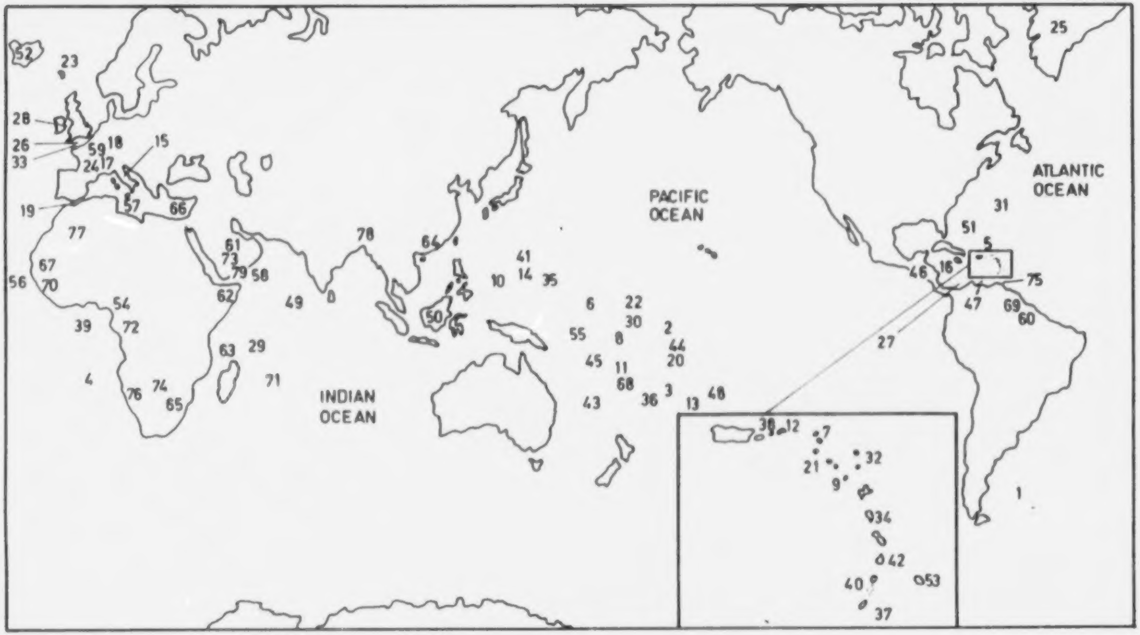
The small states of the world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The small states of the world

1. Falkland Islands
2. Tokelau
3. Niue
4. St. Helena
5. Turks and Caicos Islands
6. Nauru
7. Anguilla
8. Tuvalu
9. Montserrat
10. Belau
11. Wallis and Futuna
12. British Virgin Islands
13. Cook Islands
14. Northern Marianas
15. San Marino
16. Cayman Islands
17. Monaco
18. Liechtenstein
19. Gibraltar
20. American Samoa
21. St. Kitts and Nevis
22. Marshall Islands
23. Faeroe Islands
24. Andorra
25. Greenland
26. Guernsey
27. Aruba
28. Isle of Man
29. Seychelles
30. Kiribati
31. Bermuda
32. Antigua and Barbuda
33. Jersey
34. Dominica
35. Fed. States of Micronesia
36. Tonga
37. Grenada
38. US Virgin Islands
39. Sao Tome and Principe
40. St. Vincent and the Grenadines
41. Guam
42. Saint Lucia
43. New Caledonia
44. Western Samoa
45. Vanuatu
46. Belize
47. Netherlands Antilles
48. French Polynesia
49. Maldives
50. Brunei Darussalam
51. Bahamas
52. Iceland
53. Barbados
54. Equatorial Guinea
55. Solomon Islands
56. Cape Verde
57. Malta
58. Qatar
59. Luxembourg
60. Suriname
61. Bahrain
62. Djibouti
63. Comoros
64. Macau
65. Swaziland
66. Cyprus
67. The Gambia
68. Fiji
69. Guyana
70. Guinea-Bissau
71. Mauritius
72. Gabon
73. United Arab Emirates
74. Botswana
75. Trinidad and Tobago
76. Namibia
77. Mauritania
78. Bhutan
79. Oman

Countries are ranked in ascending order of population size.

Introduction

For many years the international literature neglected the special features of educational planning in small countries. During the last two decades, however, recognition of small countries has increased significantly. Many small countries have begun to play major political and other roles. This has increased their prominence, and encouraged specialists to remedy the neglect.

One report in the mid-1980s, referring specifically to education, identified the need to develop new ways of thinking on the potential and challenges facing small countries:[1]

> The style of educational development ... is too frequently modelled on what is appropriate and fashionable in large states. Small countries are not simply a scaled-down version of large countries. They have an ecology of their own. We believe there is a cluster of factors which suggest particular strategies in the smaller states of the world.

This book endorses that comment. It examines the nature of the ecology of small countries and its implications for educational planning. It also highlights ways in which strategies for educational development in small countries may differ from those in larger countries.

The book has been principally written for planners in the ministries of education of small countries. Such planners may work in formally-designated planning units or in other parts of the ministry. Chapter 5 has a specific focus on curriculum planning, and will be particularly useful to officers in curriculum units. The book may also be valuable to planners elsewhere in the system, e.g. in institutions of higher education and in national planning offices.

Although the book has primarily been written for planners actually in small countries, it may also be useful to the many people who live and work in large countries but who have professional linkages with small countries. This includes officers in international organisations, aid agencies, universities and training institutions.

1. Use of the book

The book may be used on its own or in conjunction with other materials. It may be read by individuals in their own time, or it may be used in staff meetings and workshops.

In suggesting that the book may be used in conjunction with other materials, it is important to state what the book does *not* try to do. It does not elaborate on the many concepts and techniques common to all countries, large and small. For example, basic concerns about enrolments, repeaters, drop-outs and teacher:pupil ratios arise in every system. They have not been discussed here because they are not distinctive to small countries, and because there is already an extensive literature on these matters.

However, the author would echo an observation by Hans Weiler, former Director of the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), who criticised the extent to which planning:[2]

> has been conceived and executed in a social vacuum, essentially as a technocratic activity, without adequate regard for the particular conditions, possibilities, and constraints of a given cultural and social system.

Among the special considerations which should be taken into account are the particular conditions, possibilities and constraints of small scale. These are the focus of the book, which aspires to meet at least part of the need identified by Weiler.

2. Small countries: numbers and definitions

The numerical importance of small countries may be assessed by looking at statistics. Over half the world's sovereign states have populations below five million, and 53 have populations below 1.5 million. To these countries may be added at least 26 territories which are not nation-states but which nevertheless have a high degree of autonomy. American Samoa, for example, is a United States dependency in the South Pacific which faces many development issues comparable to those facing such independent neighbours as Western Samoa and Tonga. This book is therefore concerned with at least some non-sovereign territories as well as with nation-states.

Of course, the geographical locations, cultures and economies of small countries vary widely. Also, there is some disagreement about how to define smallness. It might, for example, refer to population,

Small states versus large states

When comparing educational planning in small and large states, three kinds of concern may be identified:

- *ones which are distinctive to small states,*
- *ones which arise in both small and large states, but which assume greater prominence in small states, and*
- *ones which arise equally in both small and large states .*

This book is mainly concerned with the first and second categories. It generally ignores concerns which arise equally in small and large states because discussion on these matters is readily available in the standard literature.

area, economy, or a combination of all three. Further questions arise over the fact that small is a relative concept in which cut-off points are arbitrary. These factors make it difficult to write a book of this type. Yet although the book cannot discuss issues which are relevant in every context, it is possible to find common ground.

The full list of countries which the author had in mind when preparing this book is presented in Chapter 1. That chapter also discusses the dimensions of scale and the diversity of small countries. It is sufficient here to state that population has been taken as the main criterion of scale, and that, following a practice common to much of the literature, the cut-off point has been set at 1.5 million. However, it is recognised that this cut-off point is arbitrary and that often it is more appropriate to analyse scale along a continuum.

3. Development of the book

The present version of this book developed from a document written by the same author and originally published by UNESCO's Division of Educational Policy and Planning in 1987. That document was entitled *A Set of Training Modules on Educational Planning in Small Countries*. Its preface expressed the intention to improve the text through testing and experimenting. Revision, it said, would be a continuous undertaking of the Division with the co-operation of both regional and national specialists and institutions.

The 1987 publication attracted considerable interest. It was a focus of a special workshop in the Caribbean in 1988, and was reviewed and discussed by the staff of the UNESCO Office for the Pacific States in Western Samoa. In addition, the publication has been widely cited in the academic literature.

The present version of the book reflects feedback from users of the original document, and contains extensive changes in organisation and content. The changes have aimed partly to improve presentation, but also to make use of the substantial development of the literature brought by the last few years. As well as gaining inputs through the UNESCO framework, the book has particularly benefitted from a series of activities for small countries organised by the Commonwealth Secretariat. This version of the book is conceived less as a set of training modules than as a broader work focusing on issues and concepts.

4. Structure and contents

The book is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on contexts, approaches and structures. It discusses the dimensions of scale, the nature of educational planning in small countries, sources of expertise, and international linkages.

The second part focuses to the planning of specific components. Separate chapters focus in turn on curriculum development, special education and post-secondary education.

The third and last part brings together the discussion in summary and conclusion. It links back to the conceptual framework with which the book began, and notes ways to develop the planning capacity of small countries. With regard to the latter, it discusses what can be, is being and should be done by:

i) the small countries themselves,
ii) concerned larger countries, and
iii) UNESCO and other international organisations.

Part I:

Contexts, approaches and structures

Chapter 1

Small countries and their characteristics

This chapter sets the framework for the rest of the book by discussing several sets of conceptual issues. The first concerns the dimensions of scale. As noted in the Introduction, 'small' may be defined in many ways. Population is the main criterion used in this book, but other factors may also be important.

The second section turns to some general problems faced by small countries. It particularly focuses on economic vulnerability, dependency, isolation and the costs of administration. However, smallness may also have advantages. This is stressed in the third section, which highlights benefits of national identity, transparency, sensitivity to administrative changes, interpersonal relations and foreign aid. The fourth section notes features of the societies of small countries.

1. The dimensions of scale

Scale has many dimensions, and a country which is small on one criterion is not necessarily small on another. The three main dimensions discussed here are population, geographic area and the economy.

Population

Population is the most common criterion for assessing a country's size. Table 1 lists seventy-nine countries with populations below 1.5 million.

Table 1: Countries with populations below 1.5 million

Country	Pop. ('000)
1. Falkland Islands	2
2. Tokelau	2
3. Niue	2
4. St. Helena	6
5. Turks & Caicos Islands	7
6. Nauru	7
7. Anguilla	8
8. Tuvalu	8
9. Montserrat	12
10. Belau	12
11. Wallis & Futuna	12
12. British Virgin Islands	13
13. Cook Islands	18
14. Northern Marianas	20
15. San Marino	23
16. Cayman Islands	25
17. Monaco	27
18. Liechtenstein	28
19. Gibraltar	30
20. American Samoa	38
21. St. Kitts & Nevis	44
22. Marshall Islands	45
23. Faeroe Islands	47
24. Andorra	49
25. Greenland	55
26. Guernsey	55
27. Aruba	60
28. Isle of Man	64
29. Seychelles	67
30. Kiribati	68
31. Bermuda	68
32. Antigua & Barbuda	77
33. Jersey	80
34. Dominica	83
35. Fed. States of Micronesia	91
36. Tonga	99
37. Grenada	100
38. US Virgin Islands	106
39. Sao Tome & Principe	108
40. St. Vincent & Grenadines	113
41. Guam	126
42. St. Lucia	140
43. New Caledonia	154
44. Western Samoa	159
45. Vanuatu	162
46. Belize	171
47. Netherlands Antilles	172
48. French Polynesia	189
49. Maldives	195
50. Brunei Darussalam	241
51. Bahamas	244
52. Iceland	246
53. Barbados	254
54. Equatorial Guinea	300
55. Solomon Islands	319
56. Cape Verde	334
57. Malta	346
58. Qatar	369
59. Luxembourg	375
60. Suriname	389
61. Bahrain	430
62. Djibouti	456
63. Comoros	484
64. Macau	500
65. Swaziland	681
66. Cyprus	687
67. The Gambia	688
68. Fiji	717
69. Guyana	790
70. Guinea-Bissau	810
71. Mauritius	1,040
72. Gabon	1,206
73. United Arab Emirates	1,206
74. Botswana	1,212
75. Trinidad & Tobago	1,241
76. Namibia	1,262
77. Mauritania	1,339
78. Bhutan	1,370
79. Oman	1,377

Note: Most population figures refer to the late 1980s, though variations may be found by referring to the source documents. Figures are rounded up or down to the nearest thousand.

Sources: *The Europa World Yearbook* (London: Europa Publications, 1990); *The Statesman's Yearbook* (London: Macmillan, 1989).

It is instructive to note the grouping of population sizes within the table. Sixty-three of the 79 countries have populations below 500,000, and 36 have populations below 100,000. There is thus a strong clustering of countries at the small end of the scale.

In addition to independent countries, Table 1 includes self-governing dependencies. This is because, as noted in the Introduction, many issues facing educational planners are common to both groups. In the Caribbean, for example, Anguilla is still a British colony but has a high degree of internal self-government. The issues facing educational planners in Anguilla are similar to those facing planners in such neighbouring independent countries as Antigua or Dominica.

When drawing up the table, it was not always easy to decide which non-sovereign territories to include. This is because there are degrees of autonomy. For example, although the government of the United Kingdom is responsible for the foreign affairs and defence of Guernsey and Jersey, it has no role in the islands' internal affairs. From the viewpoint of education, therefore, Guernsey and Jersey have much in common with small sovereign countries, and have been included in the table. On the other hand Guadeloupe and Martinique, in the West Indies, have not been included. They are departments of the Republic of France, and have the same constitutional status as other departments on the French mainland.

These points emphasise that the boundaries of discussion are vague and potentially controversial. However, extensive debate is not called for in the present context. Those who wish to explore this issue are referred to the Further Reading section of this book.

Geographic area

Table 2 presents a markedly different picture of the same countries from Table 1. It shows the area of their land surfaces (i.e. excluding sea areas, which in countries composed of scattered islands may be very large). The order of ranking is completely different from Table 1. Some countries have both small populations and small areas. However Macau, for example, has a small area (number 4 on the list) but a rather large population (number 64 on the list). By contrast, Greenland is number 25 in Table 1 with a population of 55,000, but is number 79 in Table 2 with a geographic area of 2,175,600 square kilometres. The problems of educational provision in countries with large areas are very different from the problems in countries with small areas.

Tables 1 and 2 say nothing about the distribution of population within any country. Some countries have fairly even distributions of

Table 2: Areas of countries with populations below 1.5 million

Country	Area (Sq. Km.)	Country	Area (Sq. Km.)
1. Monaco	2	41. Fed. States of Micronesia	702
2. Gibraltar	5	42. Dominica	751
3. Tokelau	10	43. Kiribati	861
4. Macau	16	44. Netherlands Antilles	961
5. Nauru	21	45. Sao Tome & Principe	964
6. Tuvalu	25	46. Faeroe Islands	1,399
7. St. Helena	47	47. Falkland Islands	1,800
8. Bermuda	53	48. Mauritius	2,045
9. San Marino	61	49. Comoros	2,171
10. Guernsey	65	50. Luxembourg	2,586
11. Montserrat	106	51. Western Samoa	2,842
12. Anguilla	115	52. French Polynesia	4,000
13. Jersey	116	53. Cape Verde	4,033
14. Wallis & Futuna	124	54. Trinidad & Tobago	5,130
15. British Virgin Islands	130	55. Brunei Darussalam	5,765
16. Liechtenstein	157	56. Cyprus	9,251
17. Marshall Islands	181	57. Qatar	11,000
18. Aruba	193	58. The Gambia	11,295
19. American Samoa	197	59. Bahamas	13,935
20. Cook Islands	234	60. Vanuatu	14,763
21. Niue	259	61. Swaziland	17,363
22. Cayman Islands	260	62. Fiji	18,274
23. St. Kitts & Nevis	262	63. New Caledonia	19,058
24. Maldives	298	64. Djibouti	22,000
25. Seychelles	308	65. Belize	22,965
26. Malta	316	66. Equatorial Guinea	28,051
27. Grenada	344	67. Solomon Islands	28,446
28. U.S. Virgin Islands	344	68. Guinea Bissau	36,125
29. St. Vincent & Grenadines	388	69. Bhutan	47,000
30. Turks & Caicos	430	70. United Arab Emirates	83,600
31. Barbados	431	71. Iceland	103,000
32. Antigua & Barbuda	442	72. Suriname	163,265
33. Andorra	453	73. Oman	212,457
34. Belau	460	74. Guyana	214,969
35. Northern Marianas	475	75. Gabon	267,667
36. Guam	549	76. Botswana	600,372
37. Isle of Man	572	77. Namibia	824,292
38. St. Lucia	616	78. Mauritania	1,025,520
39. Bahrain	622	79. Greenland	2,175,600
40. Tonga	699		

Sources: See Table 1.

population; but others have sharp imbalances. This may also have major implications for educational planning.

Economy

The size of a country's economy is most commonly indicated by its Gross National Product (GNP). It is relevant to this book because rich countries can afford more facilities for education than poor ones. Also, governments of rich countries can more easily invest in textbooks and special provision for the handicapped, and they find it easier to sponsor personnel to attend international meetings. Poor countries have none of these advantages.

Table 3 lists the GNP of the same countries in Table 1. Again, the rank ordering is very different. Monaco has a small area and population, but a strong economy based on light and medium industry, indirect taxes, tourism and gambling. In contrast, Equatorial Guinea has a comparatively large population and area, but has a weak economy based mostly on subsistence agriculture.

In many discussions, the GNP per capita is more important than the total GNP. In the context of this book, however, the greater importance of total GNP may be illustrated by considering an example. St. Helena and Mauritius have similar levels of per capita GNP (around US$1,350). Suppose each were considering a textbook development project costing US$250,000. That project would represent a much greater proportion of St. Helena's total GNP (US$8 million) than Mauritius' (US$1,890 million).

What criteria for size?

Population is one of the principal indicators of the size of countries. Is this reasonable? Should more weight be given to area and to the size of the economy? Would it be useful to create an index which combines these three dimensions? Should other dimensions be included in the index? (And if so, which?)

For the purposes of this book, population has been taken as the main criterion of size. However, it is important to remember other criteria, and they will be referred to from time to time.

Table 3: Total GNP in countries with populations below 1.5 million (US$ million)

Country	Total GNP	Country	Total GNP
1. Niue	4	38. Andorra	300
2. Tuvalu	5	39. Guyana	327
3. St. Helena	8	40. Isle of Man	380
4. Anguilla	8	41. Aruba	400
5. Turks & Caicos	10	42. Djibouti	407
6. Wallis & Futuna	12	43. Cayman Islands	437
7. Falkland Islands	13	44. Liechtenstein	450
8. Cook Islands	25	45. Greenland	465
9. Sao Tome & Principe	32	46. Swaziland	580
10. Kiribati	40	47. Guam	670
11. Montserrat	54	48. Faeroe Islands	686
12. Nauru	70	49. Macau	810
13. Maldives	80	50. New Caledonia	860
14. Tonga	80	51. Mauritania	910
15. British Virgin Islands	96	52. Suriname	1,050
16. Equatorial Guinea	100	53. U.S. Virgin Islands	1,074
17. Western Samoa	100	54. Fiji	1,130
18. Vanuatu	120	55. Namibia	1,150
19. St. Kitts & Nevis	120	56. Botswana	1,191
20. Fed. States of Micronesia	128	57. Bermuda	1,262
21. Dominica	130	58. French Polynesia	1,370
22. St. Vincent & Grenadines	130	59. Jersey	1,435
23. Solomon Islands	130	60. Barbados	1,530
24. Gibraltar	130	61. Netherlands Antilles	1,610
25. Grenada	139	62. Malta	1,724
26. Guinea Bissau	145	63. Mauritius	1,890
27. Cape Verde	170	64. Bahamas	2,611
28. The Gambia	180	65. Gabon	3,200
29. American Samoa	190	66. Bahrain	3,027
30. Comoros	200	67. Brunei Darussalam	3,317
31. San Marino	200	68. Qatar	4,060
32. Bhutan	202	69. Cyprus	4,320
33. St. Lucia	220	70. Iceland	5,019
34. Antigua & Barbuda	230	71. Oman	7,710
35. Seychelles	260	72. Luxembourg	8,372
36. Belize	264	73. Trinidad & Tobago	9,610
37. Monaco	280	74. United Arab Emirates	23,580

Notes: (a) Most figures refer to the late 1980s, though variations may be found by referring to the source documents.

(b) Data were not available for Belau, Guernsey, Marshall Islands, Northern Marianas or Tokelau.

Sources: See Table 1.

Finally, a point must again be made about distribution. Table 3 says nothing about the proportion of people who own the wealth. In some countries, a few people are very wealthy while the majority are poor. Careful comparison of countries would have to take account of this.

2. Some problems faced by small countries

This section identifies some problems commonly experienced in small countries. Because of the geographic, economic and cultural diversity of small countries, the problems presented here are not experienced everywhere. However, they are sufficiently widespread to be worth noting.

Economic vulnerability

Most small countries are highly dependent on international forces over which they have almost no control. Some have become quite wealthy from tourism or from tax-free trading, but these activities are sensitive to international exchange rates and the economies of other countries, and few small countries have sufficiently convenient geographic positions to enable them to earn money in this way. Many small countries are also highly dependent on single cash crops, and are unable to diversify.

Because the governments of small countries lack specialist personnel in such matters as international law, and because they cannot command large military forces, they often find that negotiations with larger nations are unequal. Countries which deal with the United States may find this problem particularly acute. Similar difficulties may be experienced by Pacific countries in negotiations with Australia, New Zealand and Japan; and Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland are heavily dependent on South Africa.

An additional problem for some countries is vulnerability to natural disasters. Many small states are in typhoon or hurricane regions, and sometimes suffer disastrous damage. Mauritius lost one-third of its sugar output in 1974 and 1975, and again in 1979 and 1980, from natural calamities. In St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Vincent, on three occasions in the 1980s the banana, citrus and coconut crops were severely damaged by hurricanes. In 1986, 30 per cent of the population of Solomon Islands was rendered homeless by a cyclone. In the same year almost all cultivation was destroyed on Futuna; and in 1989, hurricane damage to housing and crops on Montserrat was almost total.

Some small island countries are also faced by the threat of sea-level rise due to global warming and the 'greenhouse' effect. Although global warming is caused by carbon dioxide emissions from cars and factories in large countries, some of the smallest countries face the most severe consequences. A rise in the sea level would have devastating consequences for Cayman Islands, Guyana, Maldives, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Tuvalu and Cook Islands. Threats such as these require leaders from small countries who are well-educated and articulate, and who can make the concerns of small countries known to the governments of large countries.

Dependency

Linked to economic matters, but also spreading to the social sphere, are questions of dependency. Of course to some extent all countries are dependent on other countries; but small countries are particularly dependent, and may be especially sensitive about it. Governments may wish to preserve their countries' identity and to avoid strong ties with larger nations. However, many links with large countries must be maintained for economic reasons, even when the ties bring cultural domination.

The importance of economic links is apparent from the high domestic incomes provided in some countries by migrants' repatriated earnings. Governments in these countries may deliberately encourage emigration, and the need for citizens to gain jobs abroad may strongly influence the education system. Even when emigration is not deliberately encouraged, in some small countries the élite realise that the route to personal wealth and power is through links to the outside world. This is felt so strongly by some parents that they send their children to secondary schools in such countries as France, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia.

Dependency and the threat to indigenous social values may be felt particularly acutely in small countries which rely heavily on tourism. A recent United Nations report noted that:[3]

> near total dependence on a tourist industry with an annual intake of tourists exceeding many times the population of the recipient country, and the consequent unplanned inculcation of foreign tastes and lifestyles, has in many instances led to the erosion of institutions and traditional values, and subsequent denial ... of the possibility of selecting other and possibly more sustainable developmental options.

Isolation

Many small countries, particularly island ones, suffer from isolation. This may be geographic, political and/or cultural.

The people of Seychelles, for example, suffer from geographic isolation, for they are 1,500 kilometres from any other country. It is costly to import and export goods, and it is expensive both to send local people abroad and to bring specialists to the country from outside. The distance and the lack of a group of countries in a similar situation also make it difficult to develop regional organisations.

Although political independence of course brings many benefits, it can also bring some costs. Territories that are attached to larger powers have automatic linkages to a stronger metropolis. Independent nations are of course in a better position to choose their own linkages; but the severance of political ties often leads to a cut in economic flows.

Many small countries also suffer from cultural isolation. Their indigenous languages, for example, may not be spoken in the wider world, and aspects of colonial rule might have increased their isolation. Referring to small islands and the British colonial era, one author has noted that:[4]

> the general pattern of indirect rule and in many cases crown colony government greatly enhanced the idiosyncracy of each island territory. In the case of the South Pacific, due to the results of previous colonisation, voyages and conflicts involving the various peoples ... there was by the time of European colonisation a fairly well established pattern of cultures. British administration seemed merely to freeze the pattern and add whatever idiosyncracies emerged from individual governors and officers of the colonial service.

Colonial legacies have also left islands speaking different official languages and with stronger ties to their formal colonial powers than to each other. This is exemplified in both the Caribbean and the South Pacific, where French-speaking territories have stronger ties with each other and with France than with their neighbouring English-speaking territories.

Costs of administration

Small countries are generally unable to achieve the economies of scale of their larger counterparts, for the machinery of government requires a basic number of administrators whatever the size of the population. Every country needs a Head of State, for example, whether the person serves a large population or a small one, and similar points may be made at all other administrative levels. Costs may be lowered if one person does two jobs, but this only reduces the problem and does not remove it.

Regional groupings may prove a partial solution to both economic and educational needs, but they are also expensive. Attendance at the meetings of international organisations may be difficult for small governments to finance; and the absence from home of key officials when they do attend meetings often causes much more disruption in a small country than in a large one because there is no one to replace them temporarily.

3. Some benefits gained by small countries

The picture painted in the previous section should be balanced by recognition of some benefits gained by small countries.

National identity

One of the greatest benefits arises from the fact that small countries *are* countries, even if they are small ones. The 7,000 people of Tuvalu, for example, receive much more prominence than comparable groups of 7,000 in the suburbs of Los Angeles, Calcutta or Mexico City. Likewise, the island of Dominica receives much more international prominence than islands of similar size off the coasts of Canada, Scotland or Chile. Even if the individual votes of small country governments do not carry so much weight in some international forums as do the votes of large country governments, the small governments do at least have a vote. And when the small countries group together, their collective vote can be very powerful.

Transparency

From the viewpoint of the planner, it is often easier in small countries to identify and diagnose problems. This fact often seems particularly attractive to planners from large countries. In 1991, for example, the IIEP took a group of trainees to Cyprus. Their report suggested that Cyprus:[5]

> represented an interesting case on a small scale where it was possible for trainees to assess, diagnose and comprehend more easily the impact of ... problems on the system as a whole.

Sensitivity to administrative changes

Once bottlenecks have been identified, it may be relatively easy to remedy them. Communications are good in many small countries, and individual officers can have a big impact on the system. It may be possible, for example, to call a meeting of all primary school headteachers -- a task that would be impossible in a large country. Once reforms have been decided upon, moreover, it may be easier to deal with the mechanics of implementation.

Innovation in small countries may also have rapid 'spread effects'. Writing about the island of Jersey, one author has suggested that:[6]

> success has a greater effect on a small system. Any successful achievement in any part of the system can shed its light over other parts so that all can share in the afterglow. This obviously helps morale, and strengthens the sense of corporate identity for all those working in the service. Success when it comes tends to come quickly in the smaller system and to be more clearly seen, and that in time acts as an encouragement and spur to further reform.

Linked to this, small states have the strong advantage:[7]

> of individual significance in a small community, where each person is known by others and where the alienation and anonymity of the modern mass society is virtually unknown. Personal acquaintance can make for good personnel relations, and eases management of organisations. Social cohesion can be more easily reached and some of the less desirable phenomena associated with the depersonalised societies -- such as crime or anti-social behaviour -- may be largely absent.

Interpersonal relations

In countries with small populations, daily life is usually more personal than in countries with large populations. Of course this may cut both ways, for interpersonal relations can cause considerable difficulties. However, knowledge of other people's backgrounds and personalities can greatly facilitate the processes of planning and co-ordination.

The strong interpersonal networks of small countries may also shape political frameworks. For example it has been suggested that the very smallness of small countries gives their inhabitants an influence *vis à vis* their leaders denied to most in larger entities:[8]

> Rulers known personally even to the poorest are unlikely to seek, let alone to succeed, to ignore or exclude any group from consideration. And the leaders themselves are apt to retain and promote an ingrained sense of communality and equity, even egalitarianism.

This view partly echoes that of another writer, who suggests that:[9]

> It may well be, for example, that the very closeness and intimacy of a small society produces a feeling of identity of the individual with his whole community which is more difficult to achieve in larger nations.... In politics, a small population can often more easily judge and choose its political and other leaders from personal knowledge of their strengths and weaknesses than in a large society, where judgements of this kind have necessarily to be based mainly on television and other media which distort or conceal the true personalities of the individuals being judged.

Such factors may assist the work of educational planners as much as other people.

Of course, this rather positive image is not always valid. Although theoretically a small territory with an informed electorate should be able to operate a representative democracy very well, in small territories with powerful élites it may be difficult for an opposition to develop. Some small countries still have intense class divisions and highly visible extremes of wealth and poverty, privilege and squalor, and power and impotence. However, the positive picture is certainly valid in many settings.

Foreign aid

Finally, small countries are often in a privileged position for foreign aid. Whereas aid in highly populated countries would have to be spread over a large number of people, in small countries the population served by aid is small. Because of their prominence, small countries often receive greater amounts of aid per head than do large countries. This will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 4.

A question of balance

Much of the literature on small countries has been unbalanced because it has focused on the problems *faced by small countries. Of course the problems are important, and rightly become the main concern of both theorists and practitioners.*

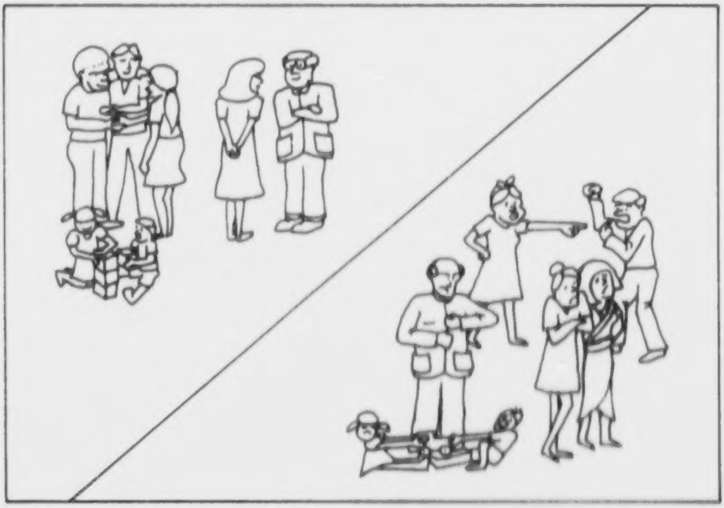
But smallness can also be an asset, for some tasks are easier to achieve in small countries than in large ones. For example, administrators in small countries may find it easier to identify bottlenecks in their systems and then to remove them. They may be able to attract more per capita foreign aid; and they may have much better communications systems. Although this book discusses many problems arising from smallness, it is necessary also to stress the positive side.

4. A contribution from sociology

Sociologists have described social relationships in small countries as 'multiplex', meaning that nearly every relationship serves many interests. This has important implications for economic and social development, for the decisions and choices of individuals are influenced by their relations in many contexts with other individuals. Thus, for example, it may be difficult to remove an inefficient employee on grounds of inefficiency alone because he may be a relative or family friend of his employer. Impersonal standards of efficiency, performance and integrity are modified by the many relationships connecting the individuals concerned.

Extending this, and using the terminology of sociologists, social roles in small societies tend to be particularistic. This means that standards of judgement depend on who people are rather than on what they do. In large societies, roles are more likely to be universalistic and based on fairly fixed standards and criteria. Shopkeepers in large societies treat their customers fairly uniformly; and educational planners deal more with anonymous statistics than with people they know in person. Inhabitants in small societies grow up within interdependent networks in which individuals figure many times. Relationships in small societies seldom concentrate on single acts or specific functions, but tend instead to be functionally diffuse and to last for a long time.

The small size of the social field, together with ingrained awareness of ecological and social fragility, fosters what another sociologist calls 'managed intimacy'. Small-state inhabitants learn to get along, like it or not, with people they will know in many contexts over their whole lives. To enable the social mechanism to function without undue stress, they minimise open conflict. They become expert at muting hostility, deferring their own views, and avoiding dispute in the interests of stability and compromise. In large societies it is easy to take issue with antagonists you need seldom or never meet again; but to differ with someone in a small society in which you share a long mutual history and expect to go on being involved in countless ways is another matter.



The societies of some small countries are harmonious because everybody knows everybody else very well, and individuals find ways to reduce or avoid conflict. But the societies of other small countries suffer from bitter tensions because the scale is restricted and people know each other too well. In the small countries which you know, which picture seems to fit better? How does the situation affect your planning?

Another point emerging from the particularistic nature of roles in small societies concerns the place of expatriates. Some small countries recruit expatriates not only to acquire expertise which is not available in the local population, but also to reduce particularity and gain more 'neutral' staff. However, even this arrangement cannot guarantee universalism. The longer that individual expatriates remains in a country, the more difficult it becomes for them to preserve universalistic orientations. As time goes on, the expatriates become involved in highly particularistic relations either with the local population or with other outsiders who form a clique. Thus it is only with short-term consultants that high degrees of universalism can be fully expected; but the drawback then is that such consultants are unlikely to be familiar with local conditions and personalities.

5. Summary

Small countries are diverse in their economic, geographic and cultural features. This must constantly be borne in mind during analysis of issues. While this book takes population as the main criterion of size, it is also important to look at the areas, economies and other features of individual countries. Even within the criterion of population, there is a marked difference between countries with populations below 20,000 and others with populations nearer 1.5 million.

However, as this chapter has pointed out, small countries do share common features. Section 2 highlighted some common problems, and Section 3 highlighted some common benefits. The fourth section expanded this by contributing some perspectives from sociology. The literature on small countries which has grown during the last few years has shown that there is indeed much common ground.

Chapter 2

The nature of educational planning

This chapter discusses some of the general approaches needed for educational planning in small countries. It begins by commenting on the ways that goals may differ between small and large countries, and by stressing the need to set priorities. It then notes that small countries on the one hand need specialists in the same way as do large countries, but on the other hand need people who can be versatile and multi-faceted. This, of course, has implications for education and training.

The chapter also notes that in small states national planning is also micro-planning. This leads to qualitative differences in the nature of planning.

Enlarging on Chapter 1, the next section turns to the implications of the highly personalised environment in which planners in small states work. It points out that this environment has many advantages, but also some disadvantages. Planners need to develop strategies to deal with this situation.

Finally, the chapter comments on the information needs of planners in small countries. Some of these needs can be met more easily than in large countries; but planners in small countries may face handicaps in other respects.

1. Goals and priorities

In many ways, development goals in small countries are very similar to those in medium-sized and large countries. Policy-makers and planners aspire to prosperous economies, and to harmonious and stable societies. They require education to help achieve these goals, and commonly seek expanded access, improved quality, reduced internal inequities, etc..

In some respects, however, development goals in small countries may be distinctive. For example, it is widely argued that the only feasible development strategy in small countries with limited natural resources lies in export-oriented industries or services. Such a strategy requires support in education and training.

Further, while the governments of small countries may be strongly assertive of their peoples' cultural and political identities, they must also recognise weaker 'centres of gravity' within which to operate. In social and cultural matters as well as in economic ones, small countries may be more obviously dependent on medium-sized and large countries. This influences the aspirations of their peoples, and has implications for curricula and examinations.

The distinctive features of small countries may also require particular approaches to specific sub-sectors. Chapter 6 in this book is concerned with planning for special needs, including both the handicapped and the specially talented. A related matter concerns the extent to which the education systems of small countries can allow for the demands of linguistic and other minorities. The need both to achieve economies of scale and to make efficient use of scarce manpower resources may constrain the extent of tolerable diversity.

A third area, discussed at length in Chapter 7, concerns higher education. Large countries can more easily operate universities with highly specialised courses. Universities in small countries are constrained in the range of programmes that they can offer; and many small countries find that they cannot operate universities at all. Planners in small countries need to weigh carefully the costs and benefits of local higher education against sending their students abroad.

Considerations such as these highlight the need for policy-makers and planners to set priorities. Of course, priorities are also needed in large countries; but in small countries the dangers of trying to do too much are especially obvious. Planners must certainly aspire to improve their societies; but they must also recognise the hazards of being over-ambitious.

2. Generalists and specialists

Small countries need specialists in many fields as much as large countries do. These specialists are required in all spheres of life, from electrical engineering to banking. One report on the South Pacific identified a need for 99 distinct types of agricultural specialist, and predicted that another 19 types of would be required within the next decade.[10]

However, small countries often encounter difficulties in securing enough work to justify the full-time employment of such specialists. This creates a danger either that specialists will be underutilised and

Small countries and the need for priorities

Small countries, almost by definition, face major human and other resource constraints. They are thus forced to set priorities, deciding both what will and what will not be undertaken.

Taking examples of the latter, St. Lucia has no school broadcasts or teachers' resource centre. Maldives, Gibraltar, Comoros and Cape Verde have no universities. And Solomon Islands and The Gambia have no secondary school inspectors.

These might appear serious limitations. But whilst the functions might seem important, it is possible for schools to operate without them. Small countries can send students to universities in large countries rather than building their own. And it must be recognised that in many larger countries, schools actually operate with little or no external monitoring. Some inspectorates operate so inefficiently that some (especially remote) schools never actually see an inspector for years at a time. Yet somehow the schools in these countries still muddle through.

Of course, no situation is ever ideal. But by setting priorities the governments of small countries can help ensure that the tasks they do undertake are done well. It is unrealistic and dangerous to assume that governments in small countries can and should try to do everything that is done by governments in large countries.

discontented, or no specialists are trained at all.

One solution lies in regional co-operation. This has been a prominent feature in the Caribbean and the South Pacific, where professionals have been employed on a regional basis in various specialist fields. Some are employed in the regional universities, while others work for the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States, the South Pacific Commission, and the various multilateral agencies having regional education officers.

Another solution lies in short-term employment of expatriates. Such people can be recruited just for the duration of the specialist need, and then released to meet demand elsewhere. For example Tonga's needs for surgery on children's feet are met by an Australian orthopaedic surgeon who comes for two weeks each year. A similar arrangement meets Tonga's needs for ear, nose and throat surgery.

A third solution, workable in some fields, is to require extensive versatility and multi-functionalism. In this case, governments may need to encourage a concept of professional which differs from that prevailing in large countries, where professional 'standards' require depth rather than breadth. But small countries do not need specialised individuals who have a great deal of knowledge which is inapplicable to conditions at home, and who think in terms of international salary levels. As noted by one report, small countries "certainly need the best; but in small countries the 'best' may sometimes be defined in terms of flexibility and breadth rather than depth".[11]

Considerations such as these have five main implications for education and training:

a) They require a broad base, in which pupils are not encouraged to specialise at an early stage.
b) The government, and individuals themselves, must assess employment possibilities very carefully before any highly specialised training is undertaken. An assessment of both demand and potential for professional satisfaction is required.
c) Technical colleges and similar institutions should be fairly flexible. One way to do this is to operate modular courses, in which components can be rearranged according to market demand.
d) Teacher training should equip trainees with more than one specialism.
e) People who have not identified a particular needed profession but who want to undertake further studies should embark on fairly general courses rather than ones which are highly specialised.

One obstacle to flexibility arises from the rigidity of training institutions. Once these institutions have built up expertise in particular programmes, they like to run those courses even if there is little demand for them. This leads to under- and mis-utilisation of expensive skills, and perhaps even to open unemployment and emigration of skilled personnel.

One answer to this lies in use of overseas institutions. The government of the small country can then stop sending students as soon as all needs have been met. However, for political and economic reasons governments often prefer to train students at home rather than abroad. In these cases, it may be useful to employ at least some institutional staff on short-term contracts rather than in tenured positions. If staff face the risk of unemployment, they are likely to be more flexible in their outlooks; and if they refuse or are unable to adapt to changing manpower needs, they can be replaced more easily.

Specialists or generalists: The need for a different approach?

Small states often require generalists more than specialists. But this need is not always met. Two authors have suggested that new ways of thinking are needed:[12]

"Very finely honed specialists are the products of communities large enough to support them. When the social base is too small to enable an adequate livelihood to be earned from a particular specialisation, the specialist must broaden his craft -- the carpenter has to be something of a plumber, the rural administrator has to double as judge and jailer. The human capacity for diversification and substitutability is brought into play. The small society then should be prepared to foster few specialists and large numbers of polyvalent handymen.

"Since the SIS [Small Island States] are by definition small and since their export/haemorrhage of skills suggest that indeed they cannot support certain specialists (at least in the style the specialists feel they deserve), it can be reasonably expected that they could have turned their minds to encouraging substitutability and polyvalence."

However, the writers also recognise that this does not appear to be the case in many countries:

"Manpower planning adheres to the specialisations of larger societies and seems unwilling to accept the implications of smallness. In this it is urged and abetted by the professions. The ambivalence about 'viability', the need to be connected to larger states and the larger world and the sheer pride of being professionally equal press the SIS to behave like large, not small, societies."

Do you agree with this analysis? If so, how can the situation be changed?

3. Macro-planning and micro-planning

In small countries, national planning is also micro-planning. National educational planners in small countries are concerned with the location of institutions, the preferences of individuals, and the characteristics of specific schools in a way that is not true of national educational planners in large countries.

Recalling earlier comments on manpower planning, the reality of micro-planning has a corollary in the smallness of the margin of error. Table 4 takes a specific example, showing estimates of manpower needs in Bhutan. Many categories show extremely low numbers, giving a strong danger of either a severe shortage or a serious over-supply. For example, estimated demand is for only two remote sensing surveyors. If two individuals are trained but one fails the course, changes occupation or for some other reason is unavailable, then there is a 50 per cent shortfall. On the other hand, if the authorities train three individuals on

Table 4: Projected manpower requirements, Bhutan, 1992-97

Graduates		Class X or above	
Computer engineers	3	Lab engineering technicians	1
Chemical engineers (general)	3	Agricultural technician	1
Mining engineers (general)	5	Fodder officer	1
Forest engineers	2	Physiotherapists	4
Agricultural engineer	1	Assistant systems analysts	3
Food & drink technologist	2	Computer programmers	3
Solar engineer	1	Sculptor	1
Dairy engineer	1	Painter/artist	1
Remote sensing surveyors	2	Personnel specialists	2
Parasitologist	1	Weaving managers	2
Fishery officer	1	Yarn purchasing officers	2
Soil chemist	5	Air transport service	4
Herbalist/assistant herbalist	2	Library clerk	1
Deputy director wildlife	2	Pasture assistant	2
Public health nutritionist	1	Dairy technician	1
Statisticians (general)	5	Forestry crew leader (tech)	3
Lawyers/high court admin.	5	Aircraft electrician	2
Newspaper/periodical editors	3	Radio studio operator	2
Script editors	3	Masonry instructor	1
Script writer	1	Sanitary filling instructor	1
Art gallery personnel specialist	1	General printer/technician	2
Assistant postal masters	2	Nutritionists	2
Private police guard	1	Meteorological officer	2

Source: Nigam, S., *Manpower Planning and Human Resource Development in Bhutan* (Thimphu: UNDP, 1991), pp.120-30.

the assumption that one will drop out, but then find that actually all three do graduate and are available, then there is a 50 per cent oversupply.

The knife edge is even more marked in the case of occupations requiring only one individual. While to some extent there is common ground, e.g. between different types of engineer, many posts require a high degree of specialisation. Waste of human and other resources is serious enough in all contexts; but it is especially serious in small states which have limited resources to begin with.

4. Personalisation of the planning process

Building on the observations of the previous section, planning in small countries is a much more personalised activity than it is in large countries. Planners in large countries deal more with anonymous statistics and abstract concepts, and cannot know personally more than a small fraction of the people who are influenced by their decisions. Planners in small countries, by contrast, both know and are known by large proportions of the population.

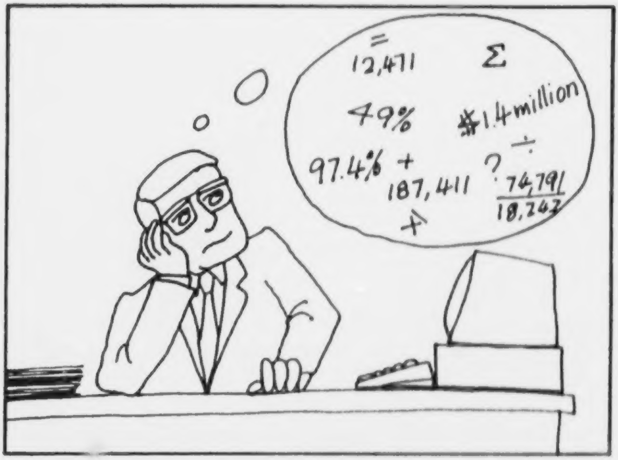
The advantages of this type of situation include:

a) *Accountability*. Decision-making in small countries is much more transparent than in large countries. It is more difficult to hide bad decisions and devious motives.

b) *Sensitivity*. Planners in small countries are more likely to have a clearer understanding of the human impact of their decisions. Also, they can more easily identify the personal factors which will facilitate or obstruct the implementation of plans; and the effects of change are likely to be seen more rapidly in small systems.

c) *Participation*. In a small system, it is much easier to hold meetings which bring together most or all of the people who will be affected by decisions. A single room could accommodate all the primary school heads, for example, who could embark on face-to-face discussion. Participation is generally considered desirable (i) to help plans to reflect national priorities, and (ii) to enable people to understand the part that they should play in implementation of the plans.

d) *Co-ordination*. In small societies, it is easier to co-ordinate the key actors in plan implementation. As pointed out by one author:[13]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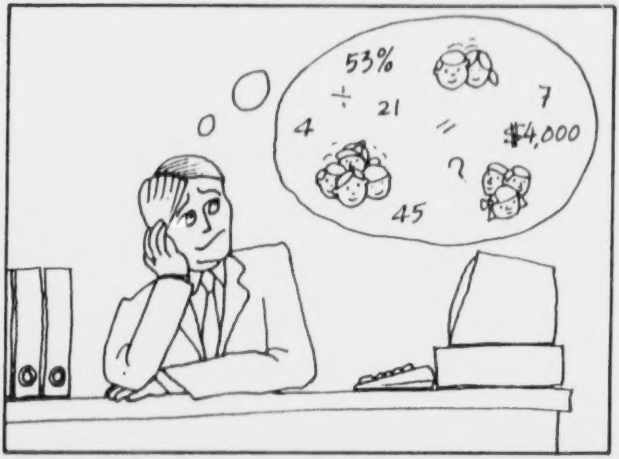
In large countries, planning is often a rather anonymous activity concerned mainly with numbers and concepts.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But in small countries, planning is much more personalised. Planners in small countries certainly need numbers and concepts; but they are more likely to know personally the people affected by their decisions.

> it is possible in one street to encounter most if not all of the significant figures in the education system ... from minister to primary school headteacher.

However, personalisation of the planning process may also have disadvantages.

a) *Interference*. The fact that people take a close and personal interest in the planners' work can lead to constant interference. Planners find themselves subjected to conflicting instructions, and projects get disrupted. The close links between politicians and planners in small countries are not always welcomed by the latter.

b) *Conservatism*. Because planners in small countries are strongly aware of the interpersonal dimensions of their work, they may decide to 'play safe'. The education system may thus suffer from stagnation and conservatism. This links back to the need for 'managed intimacy' noted in Chapter 1. Enlarging on this observation, one small-state administrator has pointed out that:[14]

> innovation can be more difficult if it is 'known' that a particular person will be opposed to the new ideas.

But as the author also noted, perceptions of other people's attitudes are not always accurate. It was for this reason that the word 'known' was placed in inverted commas. Once perceptions have formed in small countries, they may be very difficult to change.

c) *Conflict*. People in small countries do not always manage close interpersonal relations very effectively, and since small societies have few alternative outlets for frustration, tensions may escalate rapidly. It has been noted that:[15]

> once social unity is ruptured, ... the divisions that ensue run deep and take many years to heal. Minor issues which are lost or are easily absorbed in larger states, assume national dimensions in small states. Minor divisions that are allowed to spread eventually pervade other sectors of the population.

The authors continued:

> In communities where practically everyone knows everyone

> else, where individuals' utterances and actions soon become public knowledge, it often happens that once a position is taken people find it difficult to retract. This is especially so in communities where close personal interactions belie long-held suspicions or age-long feuds that exist between different rival groups, or among family clans. In such circumstances, once rival positions are taken and become public it becomes extremely difficult to avoid the polarization that ensues.
>
> Such conflicts can consume a great deal of planners' energy and time which would otherwise be directed at their ministries' objectives; and the loss is proportionately greater in a small than in a large system.

On balance, it would seem, in most small countries the advantages of personalisation outweigh the disadvantages. However, planners in small countries may need special skills to handle interpersonal relationships. They require a combination of tact and frankness, employed in informal contact outside the workplace as well as within it. It is also important to be consistent, for any shortcomings are sure to come to light in a highly personalised society. Finally, with regard to what is 'known' about other members of the society, planners must be prepared to be open-minded.

5. Information needs and data collection strategies

In both small and large countries, planners need information on the number and distribution of enrolments, the qualifications of teachers, the requirements of the labour force, the present and probable future size of the budget, etc.. Planners in both contexts collect data in similar ways, through quarterly returns, special surveys, consultation with appropriate individuals, and so on.

However in some respects both the information needs, and the strategies through which those needs are met, may differ. As noted above, in small countries national planning is also micro-planning. National educational planners in small countries need extensive information on specific institutions and individuals, in a way that is not true of national educational planners in large countries. Fortunately, planners in small countries can often secure information on community needs and opinions in a way that is impossible in large countries.

Expanding on the latter point, one administrator in Maldives has written:[17]

Personalisation and informal links

The implications for educational administrators of societies in which 'everybody knows everybody else' have been ably summarised by Farrugia and Attard:[16]

"The highly personalized societies of small states create problems when the policy making and the decision implementing process cannot remain anonymous. For example, the excise-duty official is well known to any businessman who cares; the chief income-tax assessor is also the president of the president of the sports-club and lives in the next village; the wife of the Director-General of Education is the Chairperson of the Playing Fields Association and can be met at the monthly meeting. Mr. X and Ms. Y can be 'accidentally' encountered every Friday evening at the local super-market. Such informal contacts may be abused. Many necessary decisions and actions can be modified, adjusted and sometimes totally neutralized by personal interventions and community pressure. In extreme cases, close personal and family connections lead to nepotism and corruption."

One of the major challenges for educational planners is to capitalise on the advantages of these close personal contacts and relationships, and at the same time to minimise the potential ill-effects that they can produce. How can this be done?

> Parents and concerned citizens voice their grievances and complaints. Because of the high degree of transparency and accessibility such information reaches the highest authorities of the government, and sometimes rapidly impacts policy decisions.

To capitalise on this feature of the small society, the Ministry of Education in Maldives has organized several seminars and conferences. One such gathering, held in 1989, was known as the National Convention for Consultations on Education. It led to 287 specific suggestions for the improvement of educational policies and plans.

This observation builds on the points made above about sensitivity and co-ordination in small countries. A comparable example may be taken from Macau, where in 1989 the authorities embarked on a major reform of the education system. At that time Macau had 67 primary schools and 33 secondary schools. The seminar on the reform proposals was attended by a far greater proportion of educators and concerned citizens than could have been possible in a large system.

Similarly, planners in at least some small countries have the strong advantage that they can easily obtain 100 per cent samples when they conduct surveys. In Montserrat this is even more obvious than in Macau, for the territory has just 12 primary schools and one secondary school in a compact area. It is easy to drive round the island to collect data from each school. Not only would these data represent a 100 per cent sample, they could also be absolutely up to date.

Of course, this does not apply to all countries. Solomon Islands has nearly 500 primary schools and over 20 secondary schools which, moreover, are scattered over an archipelago with six main islands and hundreds of smaller ones. Systems of communication being poor, it is much more difficult to collect data than in Macau or Montserrat. However the task is still much easier than in, say, Indonesia, which is also an archipelago but has 145,000 primary schools and 26,000 secondary schools scattered over a much greater area.

Yet while small countries may have advantages in data collection, they may be handicapped in the extent to which they can undertake local research. Some ministries do maintain research and evaluation units, but they are generally small and under-resourced. And while in some small countries research conducted by the ministry can be supplemented by work in local universities, their work also is necessarily constrained by the size and scope of those institutions.

As a result, planners in small countries often have to rely on research findings from elsewhere. When interpreted carefully, such research can be of considerable use; but it is rarely a fully-satisfactory substitute for local work.

Moreover, planners in small countries are handicapped even in gaining access to such research from outside. Few small countries are able to maintain specialised libraries of the type required. Even if they have the money they can rarely spare the manpower to run such libraries, and they rarely find demand sufficiently large to justify the operation. Advances in information technology, including computerised bibliographies and CD-Rom disks are certainly reducing problems; but in this aspect planners in small countries remain handicapped compared with their counterparts in larger countries.

5. Summary

In both small and large countries, planners are concerned with the quantity and quality of education, the need to relate education and training to the demands of the economy, the need to reduce social inequities, and so on. However, the chapter has also highlighted ways in which planning in small countries may differ. First, the goals of education in small countries may differ slightly because of the dependence on larger countries and because of the stronger need to set priorities. Planners must also bear in mind the fact that their countries must often have versatile generalists as well as specialists; and in so far as national planning in small countries is also micro-planning, the work of national planners in small countries must encompass consideration of specific institutions in a way that is not necessary for national planners in larger countries.

The chapter has also stressed the highly personalised nature of planning in small countries. This has many advantages, but also has disadvantages. Planners must find ways to maximise the good aspects and minimise the bad ones.

Finally, the chapter has discussed information needs. Many small countries, especially compact ones, have the advantage of small numbers of institutions from which it is relatively easy to collect comprehensive and up-to-date information. However, planners in small countries may be handicapped in the conduct of research and in access to specialist libraries. Improvements of information technology have reduced the latter problem, but it still remains significant.

Chapter 3

Structures and expertise for planning

This chapter discusses organisational aspects of educational planning in small countries. It is first necessary to ask who does the planning. One obvious answer is the staff of planning units. Yet not all ministries have planning units; and even in those that do, a lot of planning is done by other officers. Contributions to educational planning may also be made by government personnel outside the ministry of education.

Accordingly, the chapter begins by looking at the internal structures of ministries. The first section identifies some ministries without planning units, and it examines the ways that planning is conducted in these countries. The section also looks at some countries which do have planning units, asking how large those units are and who else is involved in planning work.

The second section turns to the roles of other ministries. For example in some small countries education statistics are collected by bodies outside the ministry of education. Other ministries may also help with physical planning and architectural designs.

Thirdly, the chapter notes ways in which community expertise may be harnessed. In small countries it is essential to use all available human resources.

The fourth section brings in an international dimension, discussing use of foreign consultants in educational planning. Such personnel can be recruited for a few weeks or for several years.

Finally, the chapter addresses issues of training and professional development. It is mainly concerned with planners who work in ministries of education, though is also relevant to other individuals in small countries.

1. Ministry of education structures

Table 5 presents information on 20 ministries of education. The countries have been ranked in ascending order of population size. Although the larger countries nearly all have planning units, many of the smaller ones do not.

Table 5: Planning units in ministries of education: Do they exist?

1.	Montserrat	yes	11.	Maldives	yes
2.	Cook Islands	no	12.	Brunei Darussalam	yes
3.	Kiribati	no	13.	Barbados	yes
4.	Seychelles	yes	14.	Solomon Islands	yes
5.	Bermuda	no	15.	Malta	yes
6.	Dominica	no	16.	Djibouti	no
7.	Jersey	no	17.	The Gambia	yes
8.	Tonga	yes	18.	Guyana	yes
9.	St. Lucia	yes	19.	Botswana	yes
10.	Western Samoa	yes	20.	Bhutan	yes

Note: Information refers to late 1980s or early 1990s.

Dominica is among the countries with no specific planning unit. Educational planning in Dominica is undertaken by a team of senior personnel chaired by the Chief Education Officer. A similar system operates in Cook Islands, Jersey and Western Samoa. Kiribati used to have a Senior Education Officer [SEO] (Planning), but he was promoted to the newly-created position of Chief Education Officer [CEO]. Planning is now done mainly by the CEO and the Education Officer (Administration). Included in the duty statement of the latter are research and statistics.

Even in the other countries, planning units are usually small. The unit in Montserrat, for example, has just one post. The skills of a single person are obviously limited, and other officers must therefore assist with planning. The whole ministry in Montserrat has only seven professional officers in the education wing, all of whom are involved in the planning of their respective areas.

The ministry in St. Lucia is larger than that in Montserrat, but also has only a one-person planning unit. The unit used to have a statistician as well as an Education Officer (Planning). However, in 1986 an individual was identified who could both meet statistical needs and coordinate examinations. As a result, the statistician's post was moved out of the planning unit, and a separate unit was created for statistics and examinations.

Many ministries also have formal planning committees through which the work of the educational planners is supplemented by and co-ordinated with the work of other officers. Barbados, for example, has an Educational Planning and Development Committee (EPADEC), which brings together all senior staff from the professional, administrative, buildings, accounts and other sections. It is chaired by the Minister, and includes the Parliamentary Secretary, Permanent Secretary, Chief Education Officer, Head of the Planning Unit, and Economist. Each meeting discusses one or more matters about which a policy decision is needed. Background papers can be prepared by any officer, though are most commonly prepared by technical/professional personnel.

Comparable committees are also found in other countries. Antigua has an Education Planning Committee chaired by the Minister and including the Permanent Secretary, Chief Education Officer, Senior Education Officer, Education Officer (Planning), Curriculum Development Officer and UNESCO Secretary General.

Similarly, the Gambian ministry of education has a senior management team chaired by the Permanent Secretary. It comprises the Chief Education Officer, the Deputy Permanent Secretary, the Directors of the Divisions of Schools, Services and Planning, the Principal of Gambia College, and the Director of Technical Education & Vocational Training.

2. Roles of other ministries

In all countries, officers in the ministry of education have to liaise with counterparts in the other key ministries. However, small countries may have especially strong forms of liaison, in which external bodies take on roles which in larger countries would be performed within the ministry of education.

Some examples may illustrate this point:

- *Statistics.* In Botswana, school statistics are collected and processed by the Central Statistics Office; and in Solomon Islands and Montserrat, they are processed by the Ministry of Finance.
- *Buildings.* In Seychelles, Brunei Darussalam and Dominica, most responsibility for government school buildings rests with the Ministry of Works.
- *Salaries.* In Dominica, The Gambia, Brunei Darussalam and St. Lucia, teachers' salaries are paid by the Treasury Department of the Ministry of Finance.
- *Printing.* In Dominica, all printing is done by a central govern-

ment unit.

- *Examination Results.* In Guyana, examination results are processed by the National Data Management Authority.

When work is distributed in this way, the ministries of education gain access to the expertise of the other ministries. The arrangement also permits governments to establish central units which are large enough to employ specialist personnel and gain economies of scale.

However, it is important to note some potential drawbacks. For example a 1977 report in Botswana noted that although the range and quality of education statistics was impressive, the data were underutilised by the ministry of education. One reason was that the statistics were collected by the Central Statistics Office. Since that time the situation has improved; but it is worth stressing the need to maintain good links to avoid problems of this sort.

Similarly, it is essential for ministries of education to ensure that the other agencies understand their detailed requirements. For example, because the staff of the ministry of works are unlikely ever to have been teachers, their architectural designs may not pay sufficient attention to educational needs. In the past this has been a problem in Montserrat, for instance. Again, careful liaison is essential.

3. Non-government and community expertise

The third category embraces tasks which are not performed by the government but which are instead undertaken either by non-government bodies or by individuals in the general community.

Tasks undertaken by non-government bodies

In both economic and managerial terms it is often more sensible either to delegate tasks to voluntary agencies, or to contract work to the private sector. The government can then concentrate on doing well the key functions that it does undertake. Examples from small states include:

- *Pre-School Education.* In Kiribati, pre-schooling is left to parents and to such private organisations as the Save the Children Federation and the Kiribati Pre-School Association.
- *Human Resources Development.* The government of Barbados has contracted the British Council to operate a major project

in education and training.

- *Distribution of Supplies.* The ministry in Montserrat used to procure and sell textbooks to students, but found this task cumbersome and time-consuming. The business has now been assigned to a private firm. A similar arrangement operates in Guyana.
- *Food.* Brunei Darussalam contracts to the private sector for supply of food to school canteens; and Guyana contracts out the manufacture and distribution of biscuits for the supplementary school feeding programme.
- *Teacher Training.* Dominica Teachers' College restricts its focus to teachers for primary and junior secondary levels. No provision is made locally for senior secondary subjects or for technical-vocational education. Trainees in these subjects have to go to regional institutions in Antigua, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, and St. Lucia, or to such countries as the United Kingdom, United States, Canada and France.

Harnessing community expertise: An example from Niue

In 1988 the government of Niue commissioned an overall review of the education system. The authorities required a comprehensive report which examined in detail wide-ranging issues of policy and practice.

With a total population of just 2,000, and at that time only seven primary schools and one secondary school, Niue is a very small society. A study of the type that the authorities had in mind could not easily be undertaken by the ministry of education alone. By utilising the resources in the wider community, however, the government was able to secure a very thorough and valuable report.

The mix of government and community involvement was evident from the composition of the review committee:

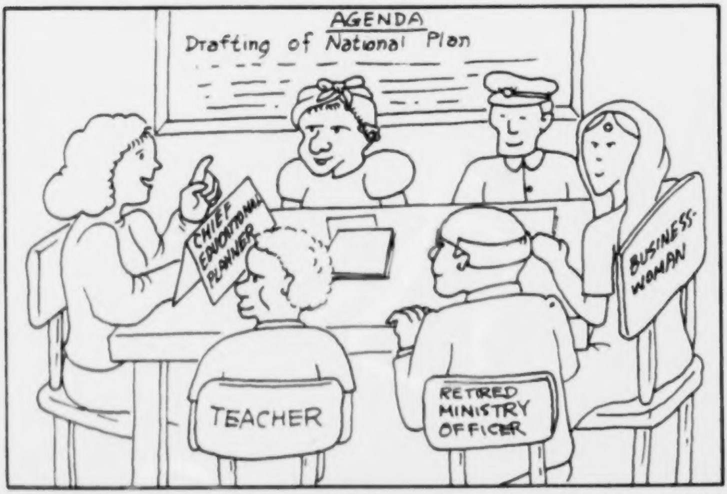
Atapana Siakimotu	*Director of Education (Chairperson)*
Lapati Paka	*Housewife/Ex-Nurse [community officer]*
Togia Viviani	*Grower/Ex-Head Teacher*
Ataloma Misihepi	*High School Principal*

- *Publishing.* In Guyana, enrolments at the middle and upper secondary levels do not justify printing and publishing for the Guyanese system alone, and books are therefore imported. A similar situation exists in Dominica, The Gambia and many other small states.

Harnessing community expertise

The previous section gave examples of delegation to the private sector. Ministries can also secure expertise by harnessing the skills of individuals in the community. Such individuals might be retired government officers, housewives or others. The box on the previous page presents an example of the way that this has been done in Niue.

Another example may be taken from St. Lucia, where the ministry of education needed for a specific duration skills in computer programming. One teacher was known to have such skills. He was seconded to the ministry for the duration of the project, later returning to the classroom. This arrangement met the ministry's needs with great flexibility. It could not have employed a computer programmer on a permanent basis, yet it still got the job done.



In small countries it is essential to make good use of all available human resources. Educational planners may gain assistance in their work from many people in the community.

4. Recruiting and using foreign consultants

Valuable expertise in planning may often be obtained through recruitment of foreign consultants. Such personnel may come from within the region or from further afield. They may assist both with general aspects of planning and with preparation of particular projects. External consultants may be useful in large countries as well as small ones; but they are particularly likely to be useful in small countries which have small populations and therefore almost by definition a limited range of local expertise.

In some cases, however, governments of small countries recruit external consultants even though equivalent expertise does exist at home. In these cases, one objective is to gain undivided attention to the problem at hand. As explained by a senior officer in Barbados:[18]

> The Ministry may have officers with the necessary expertise, but such personnel often lack sufficient time to do the work undertaken by the visitors.

An additional benefit noted by the same officer is that:

> formal and informal discussions with visitors provide the intellectual stimulus that is often lacking in small countries. Discussions about developments or approaches in other countries help to widen perspectives. The visitors may also provide useful personal and professional contacts.

Although this reference was mainly to short-term work, external recruitment may also be desirable for longer term employment. Solomon Islands, for instance, has employed external personnel in its Implementation and Planning Unit. This is not because qualified Solomon Islanders do not exist at all, but because those having appropriate skills are otherwise occupied.

In many small countries, it is possible to secure the services of consultants through external aid projects. Donors often see human resource limitations as a strong constraint on development, and consider consultants to be a way to reduce these limitations in the short run. In these circumstances the external donors will also assist in finding suitable personnel.

In other cases, consultants may be employed with a government's own resources. In these cases, ministry officials do their own recruiting. They usually do this by employing people whom they already know and trust, or by securing recommendations from international agencies and similar bodies. UNESCO is one such agency; and the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation is another.

However, difficulties may be encountered in the use of consultants. Most obviously, the consultants:

- may not have adequate cultural understanding or appreciation of the countries in which they work;
- may have previous experience only in medium-sized and large countries, resulting in recommendations which are inappropriate to small countries;
- may not know the detailed intricacy of the small societies and the personalities involved;
- may not be available at precisely the times that they are required; and
- are usually expensive.

Also, consultants are not always efficiently utilised. In some cases they receive insufficiently clear terms of reference; and in others the back-up support is weak. This is a particular danger in small countries, where personnel may lack the expertise or time to draw up detailed terms of reference. Small countries may also find it difficult to provide counterparts for consultants. Yet awareness of these difficulties is the first step towards avoiding them. Sometimes programmes should simply be designed on the assumption that counterparts are not available and that back-up support will be limited.

5. Training and professional development

Planners in small states need to be more versatile than their counterparts in larger states. They need to be 'jacks of at least several trades, and masters of all'. Countries with large planning units can encourage individuals within those units to specialise in technical education, primary education, manpower planning, statistical analysis, etc.. But small countries can rarely afford more than small planning units, and their officers are therefore compelled to be generalists.

This has implications for training and professional development. One strategy is to encourage individuals to become expert at a limited number of tasks before then demanding expertise in additional ones. This strategy reduces the risks of superficiality and confusion. However, it also implies a need for careful supervision. Otherwise there is a danger, as noted by one administrator in Solomon Islands, that the existence of multiple demands "allows a lot to be ignored, especially in areas in which officers lack expertise".[19]

Many of the most valuable forms of professional development are on the job. Individuals learn through experience under the supervision of their superiors and through contact with colleagues and visitors. Such on-the-job professional development may be made systematic through in-house training programmes. On-the-job training is especially valuable for small ministries of education since their scarce personnel do not need to be absent for courses elsewhere.

External consultants may also play a key role in training. Sometimes consultants are recruited to run specific workshops in educational planning. In recent years this has been true of countries as far apart as Vanuatu, Bhutan and Guyana. On other occasions consultants are recruited for specific tasks but are asked to undertake training in addition. To make such arrangements workable, the small states have to identify specific counterparts with whom the consultants can work.

Finally, it is often desirable for planners to attend courses outside the ministry. Such courses may be of varying durations, and may be in-country or abroad. Some small states have their own universities with capacity to mount useful courses. Others can send officers to regional institutions or further afield.

Identifying overseas courses in educational planning

It is not always easy for personnel in small countries to know where to gain specialist training overseas. Decisions are usually based on personal contacts, e.g. with visiting consultants and with staff of institutions in which Ministry officers have already received training.

Alternatively, contact may be established with (i) UNESCO sub-regional offices of education [e.g. in Jamaica and Western Samoa], (ii) the Educational Policies and Management Unit at headquarters, or (iii) the International Institute for Educational Planning [IIEP] in Paris. All these have good links with other training agencies, and are often able to recommend courses and institutions to meet specific needs.

For more information, contact: The Director, Educational Policies and Management Unit, UNESCO, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France. Fax: 1 40 65 94 05.

6. Summary

Ministries of education in small countries rarely have large planning units. In some countries the units consist of a single person; and some countries do not have planning units at all. These facts emphasise the need for personnel to be drawn from many places in addition to formal planning units. Of course, this is true in all countries; but it is especially true in small ones.

To begin with, expertise can be sought elsewhere in the ministry of education. Specialist officers should have expertise in planning their own areas; and administrators at the top must co-ordinate development of the system as a whole. Planning skills can also be sought in other government ministries, the private sector, and the community in general.

The chapter has also highlighted the value of external consultants. Such personnel can contribute skills which small countries do not themselves have. External consultants may be available either regionally or from further afield.

Finally, the chapter has commented on training and professional development. Planners in small countries must be expert at a variety of tasks. Such expertise is often developed on the job, though it can also be developed through formal training programmes.

Chapter 4

Small countries in international settings

International links of many sorts are a prominent feature of daily life in small countries, and impact significantly on educational planning. This chapter begins with some comments on dependence and interdependence. It notes that while of course international links bring many benefits, they also bring some costs.

The second section elaborates on this point by focusing on international aid. Small states commonly have larger per capita receipts of external aid than do large states. This might generally be perceived as an advantage, though it may also raise conflicts of interest.

The third section turns to regional organisations. The challenges for planners are to find ways to maximise the benefits of regional co-operation, and to find ways round the many obstacles.

Finally, the chapter discusses broader international linkages with such bodies as UNESCO, the World Bank and the Commonwealth. Once again membership of these bodies brings many benefits; but planners also need to pay heed to some potential problems.

1. Dependence and interdependence

For small countries, the positive side of international links lies chiefly in the ideas and resources that can be gained from other societies. Small countries benefit from the research and technology developed elsewhere; and some small countries have successfully exploited demand in large countries for such services as tourism and off-shore banking.

The negative aspects of economic dependence were commented upon in Chapter 1. They are mirrored in a more insidious form of dependence, namely cultural domination, particularly that form which is transmitted through informal channels such as the mass media. Because few small states can afford nationally-produced television services, they may enter contracts with large-country networks. People of all ages are fed on a constant diet of American, Australian, French or British programmes (depending on their locations and cultural ties). Their aspirations and consumer lifestyles are consequently affected.

One author has gone beyond this to indicate the impact of Western culture in the education system. He was referring specifically to Solomon Islands, but his message is widely applicable:[20]

> Today, the economy has enabled some of us to have foods which can only be produced by people in other countries. This has led those who did not have these things to request these things, and so very quickly we have become dependent on manufactured goods. Much of the time of education is spent in trying to learn about these new things - why they are made, how they are made, how they should be looked after, etc.. Instead of planting yams for dinner a lot of us now buy and sell imported goods in order to buy yams, or sell yams to buy rice.

Dependency -- for better or worse -- is also evident in the training received by educational planners. Many individuals in small countries feel that in tertiary qualifications, 'foreign is best'. Certainly the planners may find a great deal to stimulate thought when they study abroad. But the concepts they bring back are often heavily influenced by cultures other than their own.

It is also worth quoting the views of two delegates at an international meeting of educators from small states. One, from Lesotho, described:[21]

> a seeming over-dependence on external (overseas) experts. This has often been compounded by a tendency on the part of some experts to fail to work themselves out of jobs.

Another delegate, from Maldives, felt that:[22]

> It is sad, ... in this day of increasing national interdependence and economic instability, that the future of educational development will be influenced more by "others" than by Maldivians.

These remarks could be echoed in many other small countries.

2. International aid

Although in theory international aid aims to promote national self-reliance, in practice it often reinforces dependence. To assess the place of external assistance in educational planning, it is useful to note the extent to which it is used by small states.

The scale of aid

Beginning with the positive side, whereas aid to a highly populated country has to be disbursed to a large number of people, in a small

Table 6: Aid per capita in small countries, 1988 (US$)

Country	Aid per Capita	GNP per Capita	Country	Aid per Capita	GNP per Capita
Falkland Islands	3,200	7,500	Western Samoa	182	560
Niue	2,500	1,750	British Virgin Is.	154	8,500
Tokelau	2,000	1,000	Maldives	135	300
Tuvalu	1,750	650	Botswana	130	1,030
French Polynesia	1,742	8,250	Comoros	121	380
New Caledonia	1,740	5,470	Equatorial Guinea	110	180
St. Helena	1,167	540	Guinea-Bissau	106	160
Turks & Caicos Islands	1,143	780	Antigua & Barbuda	105	2,570
Mayotte	860	300	Gabon	103	2,760
Cook Islands	706	1,550	Gambia	103	220
Anguilla	571	850	St. Lucia	100	1,370
Cayman Islands	542	3,480	Fiji	75	1,150
Gibraltar	533	4,240	Wallis & Futuna	67	1,250
Montserrat	500	3,330	Qatar	58	12,360
St. Kitts-Nevis	326	1,700	Mauritius	57	1,460
Seychelles	318	3,180	Cyprus	53	5,200
Aruba	317	6,750	Swaziland	52	700
Netherlands Antilles	279	6,360	Suriname	51	2,360
Vanuatu	269	1,020	Guyana	33	380
Cape Verde	242	500	Bhutan	30	150
Dominica	235	1,440	Brunei Darussalam	21	20,760
Grenada	230	1,340	Bahamas	17	10,320
Kiribati	229	480	Namibia	17	990
Sao Tome & Principe	218	280	Barbados	12	5,350
Solomon Islands	191	420	Trinidad & Tobago	7	4,220
Tonga	190	730	Oman	2	5,780
St. Vincent & Grenadines	189	1,080			
All Developing Countries	12	740			

Note: Figures include all GNP and concessional assistance from OECD Development Assistance Committee members, OPEC members and multilateral agencies.

Source: Calculated from OECD, *Development Co-operation: 1989 Report* (Paris: OECD, 1990), Tables 33, 62.

country available aid can only be disbursed to a small number. And because of their prominence, small countries often receive greater amounts of aid per person than do large countries. This is another example of the benefits that are received by small countries because they are countries rather than just parts of larger territories.

Table 6 presents some statistics on aid. Some countries, often for political and strategic reasons, receive substantial aid despite high per capita GNP. Examples include Falkland Islands, French Polynesia, Seychelles, Aruba and Netherlands Antilles. Almost all countries in the table received per capita aid well above the average for developing countries as a group.

Of course, when equipment or specialised services are indivisible, per capita aid to small countries needs to be high. For example, some of the equipment costs of a university laboratory are the same whether the facility serves five or 100 people. Likewise although small countries require smaller textbooks print-runs, the costs of writing and composition are the same for small print runs as they are for large ones.

In some small states, most external assistance comes from a single source, whereas in others multiple donors are involved. The latter situation may create major problems of co-ordination and programming. Table 7 shows the number of education projects in one country in 1988. The table lists 36 projects, funded by seven bilateral and four multilateral agencies. Many additional projects were funded and operated on a regional basis.

Some countries deal with an even wider range of donors. Seychelles for example has external aid projects funded by the governments of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Cuba, Germany, France, India, Japan, Malaysia, Netherlands, Nigeria, North Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the USSR.

Implications for planning

Countries having large incomes from aid, and with large numbers of separate projects, are obliged to devote considerable resources to planning and management. A Maldivian planner, calling attention to the potentially negative aspects, has stated that in his country educational planning has become subordinated to the demands of aid projects:[23]

> the plan has essentially become a symbolic document. Instead more emphasis is given to the preparation of dossiers for external assistance. Planning is at risk of becoming a technical activity for preparing project proposals and attractive documents.... The

Table 7: Externally-assisted projects in education, Fiji, 1988

Project	Source of Assistance	1988 Expenditures (US$)
Training	Australia	1,011,169
Promotion of French language	France	19,339
General cultural scholarships	India	90,000
Hindi scholarship scheme	India	32,000
Equipment for seamen's education	Japan	233,460
Seamen's education	Japan	15,564
Third country training	Japan	101,166
Japanese language teacher	Japan	10,506
Librarian	Japan	10,506
Training	Malaysia	43,774
South Pacific Form 6 examination	New Zealand	129,236
Regional libraries	New Zealand	71,080
Fiji College of Agriculture	New Zealand	148,622
Multi craft centres	New Zealand	71,080
Fiji Institute of Technology	New Zealand	32,309
Tertiary awards	New Zealand	371,555
Training	New Zealand	35,540
In-country training	New Zealand	16,155
Fiji School of Medicine	New Zealand	64,618
Senior Secondary School Rabi	UK	70,302
Senior Lecturer, Marine School	UK	37,557
Head, Hotel & Catering School	UK	28,078
UK training scholarships	UK	561,559
Books presentation programme	UK	16,096
Bachelor's degree in agric. engineering	CFTC	5,008
Sub-regional workshop on literacy	UNESCO	3,000
Sub-regional computer training	UNESCO	1,000
High level consultation	UNESCO	1,000
11th Regional APEID meeting	UNESCO	3,500
SIS education planning seminar	UNESCO	500
Distance education in teacher education	UNESCO	3,500
Co-ordination of formal and nonformal	UNESCO	3,000
Technical education workshop	UNESCO	3,000
Literacy through training primary	UNESCO	7,500
Adult education and training	Australia	10,187
Adult education and women	UNIFEM	14,806

Note: CFTC = Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation

Source: United Nations Development Programme, *Development Co-operation: 1988 Report*, (Suva: UNDP, 1989).

> planner is reduced to being an information gatherer and packager of aid proposals.

A similar comment has been made in Guyana:[24]

> The varying reporting and monitoring formats of the aid agencies, particularly in circumstances of an already overstretched managerial team in the Ministry, create a counter-productive treadmill in which education managers are so pre-occupied with reporting schedules that they have little time for actual execution. What is even more damaging is that the amount of time spent implementing foreign projects, as opposed to routine and locally-funded activity, is often not commensurate with their importance.

These quotations emphasise the need for planners in small countries to be selective in the aid that they welcome. Even more than in large countries, there is a danger that an excessive number of aid projects leads to problems of co-ordination, absorptive capacity, and distortion of the education system. It is refreshing to note that an increasing number of governments have developed the capacity to refuse offers of aid which do not fit their own priorities.

However, the negative comments on aid are not universally applicable. For example commentators in the South Pacific have presented much more positive pictures;[25] and their views have parallels elsewhere. The question is then how planners can maximise the positive uses of aid, and can ensure that the advantages outweigh the disadvantages.

One strategy is to form special units within the ministries of education to negotiate with potential donors. Thus the ministry of education in Seychelles has a special International Co-operation Unit (ICU). Staff of the unit have developed special expertise in negotiation and liaison, gaining close acquaintance not only with the programming and management requirements of various agencies but also with the key individuals who work in the external organisations. To maximise aid flows, the authorities pay particular attention to the preparation of reports:[26]

> These have to go to the donors in time for them to evaluate requests and finalise their commitments each year. Most organisations also require project-completion reports of various kinds. These reports are vital, for they give the donors an idea of how the assistance was used and to what extent it really helped the country.

> Future flows of aid depend to a large extent on timely provision of detailed reports.

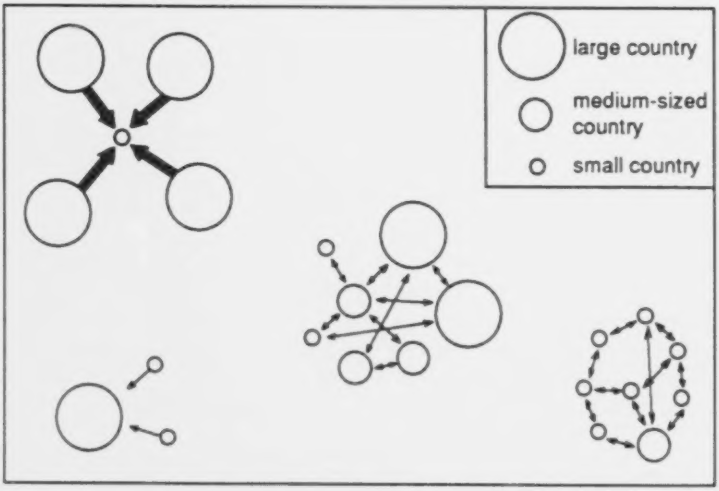
Bodies similar to Seychelles' ICU may be found in other countries. The ministry of education in Solomon Islands, for example, has an Implementation and Planning Unit, which exists mainly to implement externally-funded projects; and the ministry in The Gambia has a similar Projects Implementation Unit. In all cases, the units have high status within their ministries. The unit in Seychelles, for example, operates under the direct authority of the Principal Secretary; and the head of the unit in Solomon Islands has a higher rank even than that of the Chief Education Officers.

The status and resources allocated to these units may be particularly important because of the extent to which small states may otherwise be disadvantaged during negotiation processes. Staff of the World Bank, for example, are recruited on a worldwide basis with excellent conditions of service. The Bank is therefore able to attract very well-qualified personnel. Moreover, the total number of World Bank staff is about 5,500. The technical expertise of such an organisation dwarfs what can be found in the planning units even of large states, let alone small ones. It gives the Bank a strong advantage during negotiations.

However, many small states have shown ability to stand up for themselves. Whilst they may not be able to match the sophistication of donor agencies and the access to international research data, negotiators in small states who are well prepared can often secure significant improvements in aid proposals. This creates a strong case for development of expertise in negotiation within the small states. Many governments prefer not to have special units, fearing that the units would be better resourced than other parts of the ministry and would become rather elitist. In these cases, the planning branch is the most logical place to develop expertise in negotiating with donors.

3. Regional co-operation

Countries of all sizes derive benefits from co-operation with neighbours in regional organisations. Such co-operation may be especially important to small countries, because it gives them a stronger collective voice and it permits them to overcome some of the diseconomies of small scale.



International linkages may take many forms. Sometimes, large countries dominate. In other arrangements, small countries enter partnerships with large countries. And in other arrangements, small countries join with each other in regional co-operation.

The nature of co-operation

Some types of regional co-operation take an institutional form, and have a quasi-permanent basis. Others are short-term projects, e.g. to develop curricula or train specialised staff.

Three prominent examples of regional institutions are the University of the West Indies (founded by 15 member states in 1948), the University of the South Pacific (founded by 11 member states in 1968), and the Arabian Gulf University (founded by seven member states in 1980). Other initiatives include:

- the Caribbean Examinations Council, established by 14 countries in 1972 to organise regional examinations at the secondary level;
- the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM), which was founded in 1973 with nine member countries, and which has an education as well as an economic programme;

- the South Pacific Commission, which was founded in 1947 and also has some education functions;
- the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment, which was founded in 1981 and serves eight countries;
- the Arab Bureau for Education in the Gulf States, founded in 1975 to serve seven countries including United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar and Kuwait; and
- the Association des Institutions de Recherches et de Développement dans l'Océan Indien (AIRDOI), which was set up in 1979 to co-ordinate exchange programmes for teachers, researchers and consultants in Réunion, Mauritius, Madagascar and Seychelles.

Alternatively, small states may be members of regional organisations which serve states of all sizes rather than just small ones. Examples include:

- the regional development banks, such as the Asian Development Bank (AsDB), the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB), all of which have education projects;
- the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which serves nine nations including Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, and has a specific education programme;
- the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO), which serves eight countries including Brunei Darussalam;
- the West African Examinations Council, which serves five countries including The Gambia;
- the South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC), which includes Maldives and Bhutan among its six members, and finances some education projects; and
- the Council of Europe, which includes Cyprus, Iceland, Luxembourg and Malta among its 19 members, and among other activities disseminates information on innovations in its Education Newsletter.

Some regional institutions make good use of technology to overcome difficulties. For example the University of the South Pacific holds tutorials by satellite. Students in countries scattered across thousands of miles and several time zones on either side of the international date line can simultaneously join seminars at pre-arranged times.

Implications for planning

Whilst regional co-operation may seem a logical way to solve problems, there are many obstacles to overcome. Regional institutions often survive only as a second-best solution. Most governments prefer to have their own institutions, even if they are costly. The University of Botswana, Lesotho & Swaziland, for example, made sense on paper, but the individual governments wanted more control. The institution broke first into two parts (in 1975) and then into three parts (in 1982). A similar fate befell the University of East Africa, which served Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. In 1963 Guyana set up its own university separate from the University of the West Indies; and in 1984 the government of Western Samoa, whilst remaining a partner in the University of the South Pacific, set up its own National University of Samoa.

In addition, many regional institutions encounter political difficulties over the location of their headquarters and over staffing. Because Fiji is the headquarters of the University of the South Pacific, it has benefitted more than the other member countries and contributes a larger proportion of staff and students. Similar problems have been encountered in the University of the West Indies. In these cases, the challenge for planners is to find mechanisms which meet their objectives within the constraints of the political frameworks.

It must also be recognised that planning and maintenance of regional initiatives demands a great deal of time, travel and expenditure. National planners have to join frequent regional meetings, and unless their ministries have good mechanisms for ensuring that work is done by others while they are away, their regular responsibilities may suffer.

Further, regional initiatives are sometimes clumsy and slow. Because proposals have to be endorsed, often individually, by the many governments involved, procedures are time-consuming. A case in point concerns the legal status of the Caribbean Examinations Council, which had still not been completely settled even after 20 years of operation. Also, the necessity to take into account the needs of the whole region sometimes impedes action on the pressing needs of individual countries. For example, the Council has been slow to develop syllabuses and examinations in religious education, partly because of sensitivity to the strengths of different religious denominations in different countries.

In addition, of course, some countries cannot join regional institutions simply because they have no partners interested in such co-operation. St. Helena and the Falkland Islands, for instance, are just too isolated.

However, regional schemes can work well. One example is a

UNESCO secondary vocational curriculum project subcontracted to the University of the South Pacific, which uses a regional framework to meet national needs. It avoids imposition of uniformity and common, regional solutions.

Maximising use of regional resources

Dr Kenneth Tsekoa, former Deputy Principal Secretary of the Lesotho ministry of education has suggested that:[27]

> *"Every region and sub-region has a pool of experts in the area of education. There are educational planners, vocational and technical education personnel, adult educators, educational evaluators and researchers. If every region were to take stock of what expertise there is in their respective countries and use it at the national, sub-regional and regional levels ... there would be a lot of mutual strengthening and the much needed cross-fertilisation."*

Do you agree with this observation? What are the obstacles to achieving the goal, and how can these obstacles be overcome?

4. Other international linkages

It is also useful to highlight some linkages which operate beyond the regional level. Such linkages include membership of international organisations, such as:

- *United Nations bodies.* UNESCO is the UN body most concerned with all aspects of the field of education, and has many small states among its members. UNICEF and the World Bank also play important roles in educational development.
- *The Commonwealth.* Of the Commonwealth's 50 member states, 28 have populations below 1.5 million. The Education Programme of the Commonwealth Secretariat, in London, has

> played a pioneering role both in developing conceptual frameworks and in meeting the practical needs of small states.

Through membership of such bodies, small countries gain access to ideas and expertise. Also, they usually have an influence out of proportion to their population sizes. These points again emphasise the benefits that accrue to small countries because they *are* countries, rather than just regions in bigger nations.

Again, however, involvement in the work of international bodies is not without cost; and the burden is proportionately heavier in small states than in large ones. One aspect is the financial burden on small economies, and another is the human resource burden on small organisations.

Concerning the latter, one senior administrator from Maldives has described the demands of international development organisations as "overwhelming and sometimes debilitating".[28] This is because:

> Some of the most efficient manpower is engaged most of the time in corresponding and providing information to such agencies. Often routine functions are pushed aside due to the pressure of more urgent demands from outside....

Unfortunately, he added, "most of the large international development organisations are not adequately sensitive to the special problems and needs of the small states in educational planning and management". His remarks would be echoed by others. They clearly have some validity, and should be addressed more seriously within the international organisations. Some changes have been seen, but they need to go further. Small states should perhaps make the point more vigorously whenever they have an opportunity.

Question for thought

It is often costly for governments to send representatives to meetings of international organisations, and to maintain permanent embassies abroad.

Do you think that the expenditure of financial and human resources is usually a good investment for small countries? Or is it an inefficient use of money?

5. Summary

This chapter commenced by noting that to some extent all countries are interdependent, both economically and socially. However, small countries are more vulnerable to imbalances than are large ones.

Some analysts would argue that external aid is among the instruments which maintain dependence, reducing the need for self-reliance. On the other hand, some small countries are expert at securing substantial aid, and general per capita aid flows are much greater in small states than in large ones. The challenge for planners is to ensure that aid is put to good uses, and that national needs are not subordinated to the agencies' agendas.

The third section focused on regional organisations. Such co-operation is not a guaranteed and ready-made solution to all needs. Some countries encounter difficulty in finding partners with the same types of needs, and most regional initiatives suffer political tensions. Also, regional co-operation can be costly and cumbersome. However, the many successful examples of regional co-operation also testify to the substantial benefits from this type of arrangement.

Finally, the chapter has commented on links with broader international organisations. Access to these bodies is a major benefit gained by small states because they are states. Membership does bring its own demands, however, and again it is necessary for planners to devise strategies which maximise the benefits while minimising the costs.

Part II:

Planning specific components

Chapter 5

Planning the curriculum

The obvious place to begin a chapter on planning the curriculum is with goals. These are the focus of the first section. Turning then to organisational structures for meeting those goals, the second section focuses on curriculum units in ministries of education. It discusses the size and functions of such units. Because in most small countries it is unrealistic to expect curriculum units to meet all needs, Section 3 identifies external resources which can be harnessed for curriculum development.

Among the dominant forces shaping curricula are school-leaving examinations. Small countries face particular tensions in determining systems for external examination. On the one hand governments want examinations to promote local priorities in the education systems, but on the other hand they often want to secure external recognition. Section 4 outlines a range of strategies for dealing with examinations and accreditation.

The final section focuses on textbooks. Because small countries have small markets, they usually cannot rely on commercial enterprises to meet their needs. Some countries therefore make do with foreign or regionally-focused books. Others establish their own textbook-production units. The chapter notes the advantages and disadvantages of different arrangements.

1. Curriculum goals

As overall goals, policy-makers and planners in both large and small countries aspire to prosperous economies and to harmonious and stable societies. These goals have implications for the curriculum as much as for other parts of the education system.

Recalling discussion in Chapter 2, educational goals in small countries may have distinctive characteristics. Small countries are likely to have particularly open economies; and in social and cultural matters they may be more obviously dependent on larger countries. Some small countries rely on tourism as a substantial source of income, while others depend on remittances from migrants in other countries. All small states must have people who can be adaptable and multi-functional. These factors have major implications for the curriculum.

The problem of relating curriculum to external links and changing needs was highlighted in a recent Bhutanese policy document:[29]

> Till recently much of what was taught in our schools was a direct transportation of materials prepared by Non-Bhutanese and meant for Non-Bhutanese children. Whereas this was considered appropriate for some time as this enabled our children to get a broad and general basic education which facilitated them to get admitted in higher studies in India and elsewhere, with the establishment of our own higher educational facilities and with the expansion of education system, the Royal Government of Bhutan has increasingly become critical of a system which neither conforms to our ways nor meets our needs effectively.

As a result, the government of Bhutan has embarked on extensive curriculum reform designed to meet newly emerging local needs.

The Bhutanese experience has parallels in many other small countries. Seychelles, for example, has a National Youth Service (NYS). The NYS is both a continuation of formal schooling at the post-primary level and a programme for pre-training in vocational and community fields. It was designed to promote the values needed for socialist development in the framework of the envisaged New Society. The Seychelles government has also developed curriculum materials in the Kreol language, which since 1981 has been used as the medium of instruction in the initial stages of schooling.

Another notable initiative has been in Maldives. For centuries, Maldivian children have been educated in indigenous educational institutions known in the Dhivehi language as 'Edhuruge', translated as 'House of the Teacher'. A major function of the Edhuruge is to help children develop a love for the Koran, but the goals also include teaching of literacy and numeracy. In recognition of the Edhuruge's national importance, the government has recently prepared a feasibility study aimed at supporting and strengthening that institution.[30]

Education systems must also of course be linked to the economy. As noted above, small countries in some regions derive substantial incomes from tourism. In these countries, tourism is commonly an important topic on the secondary school geography syllabus. The American Samoan government has also used the school system to encourage appropriate forms of behaviour towards the tourists; and in Tonga the Visitors' Bureau has prepared a booklet for school children and adults, to help them provide reliable information on culture and customs in answer to possible tourists' questions.

Linkages between education and international migration may also be prominent. Most governments feel that development should be home-based, and that a process which takes the young and skilled out of society should be discouraged; but some countries are heavily depen-

Emigration and the school curriculum: Questions from Mauritius

Secondary school pupils in Mauritius still have to take examinations set by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. Each year over 11 million Rupees is spent on fees, and many people feel that the examinations should be localised to facilitate curriculum adaptation.

But whenever the topic is raised, three big questions are asked:

- *a) Would a local examination be administered as fairly as the overseas one?*
- *b) Although a lot of money is currently spent on fees, would it actually be more expensive to run the examination at home?*
- *c) Would the qualification be recognised internationally?*

The third question is perhaps the most important. Each year, many Mauritians leave for study and employment abroad. They fear that their qualifications would not be recognised if the examinations were administered locally. Emigration has a big impact on the local curriculum.

dent on money sent home by sons and daughters who have emigrated. The best way to develop the home country in these cases may be to encourage emigration. In these cases, educational qualifications must be linked to the demands of employment in the destination countries.

Some small countries are 'associated states' with rights of access to a larger country. Niue and the Cook Islands are examples in the South Pacific. Citizens of these countries hold New Zealand passports and hence have automatic right of migration to New Zealand, of which they take full advantage. One result is that the curriculum in their schools is heavily dominated by the language and culture of New Zealand. Leaders in the smaller countries fear that their people would encounter serious difficulties if they were not given this background.

Other countries are full nation states, and no longer have automatic rights of access to metropolitan countries. Yet migration is often still both common and necessary, and curricula still have to take account of it. This is particularly true of many West Indian, Micronesian and Polynesian countries, from which there is still heavy emigration to the United States and, to a lesser extent, to the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. Although the context is rather different, substantial proportions of the populations of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland work in neighbouring South Africa.

2. Curriculum units

Most ministries of education have curriculum units. Indeed according to one Commonwealth survey of small states, curriculum units are even more common than planning units. However, the size of such units varies widely. The unit in Montserrat has only one post, while that in Grenada has five, and that in Tonga has 29. The unit in Seychelles has as many as 96 establishment positions, though in 1990 only 38 were filled.

To some extent, these numerical comparisons are dangerous because the staff of some curriculum units may also undertake inspections and other functions. However, the large number of officers in Tonga and Seychelles reflects a view that all areas of the curriculum must be covered. As reported by two senior officers in Seychelles:[31]

> The cost of curriculum development is one example where small states have to incur heavy expenses, especially when they stress a curriculum suited to the socioeconomic needs of the country. Although in small countries the materials are used by a small number of schools, the Ministry needs the same amount of

> curriculum development expertise as would be needed by a large country.

Yet the view that small countries necessarily need large curriculum units is not shared everywhere. Much depends on the mode of operation, and on the extent to which ministry personnel use external personnel.

This point may be illustrated by reference to The Gambia. In the late 1980s the Curriculum Development Centre had 35 posts, of which 18 were filled. One external review of the ministry suggested that this was not an effective use of staff. To promote efficiency and flexibility, the review suggested, curriculum development specialists should be used as managers rather than writers of curriculum plans and materials. In the words of the report:[32]

> It is hugely wasteful of trained manpower to maintain a body of specialists just in case any one specialism needs a new curriculum. Curriculum planning needs itself to be planned on a project basis. Curriculum specialists can manage projects and within them work with subject specialists from the teaching field.

In fact teachers have long been involved in curriculum development in The Gambia. The report proposed that such involvement should be strengthened to make better use of the abilities, interests and training of personnel who worked in the Gambian education system but who were not necessarily employed by the Curriculum Development Centre. It was recommended that the unit should have just a Director and six other specialists, two of whom would have particular ability in research. Such a system, it was suggested, "would be less wasteful of manpower, cheaper, more flexible, and perhaps capable of delivering better products".

Whilst this view would not be shared universally, it is certainly important. Too many small states try to take over the models of larger states without adaptation. The mode of operation in The Gambia might be much better suited to small-country realities.

3. Harnessing external resources

Even when curriculum units are large, they cannot be expected to achieve everything. Curriculum planners therefore have to look for additional sources of expertise.

Among the most valuable sources, as noted above, are teachers.

Such involvement may not only provide expertise but also increase commitment. As noted in Grenada:[33]

> It is a commonly understood fact about curriculum development that unless the teachers themselves are involved in the activity, the product or outcome is likely to be ignored or rejected. This has been the case in the UK and US where Curriculum Developments have been issued through a 'top-down' model.... Extensive research showed that materials which were produced by a committee or project group 'divorced' from teachers ended up on shelves gathering dust, and the effort was largely wasted.

Small countries have the advantage that it is far easier to involve a substantial proportion of teachers in a curriculum development process. Fifty teachers, for example, would represent a much greater proportion of the total number of teachers in a small state than they would in a large state.

Additional sources of expertise for curriculum development include:

a) *The rest of the ministry of education.* Inspectors and advisory staff are likely to be particularly valuable, but other officers may also be able to contribute.

b) *Other ministries.* Other ministries often have both materials and individuals with writing skills. For example, officers in the National Planning Office can contribute to economics and social studies materials; their counterparts in the Ministry of Agriculture can frequently take on the writing of both agricultural education and parts of the basic science curriculum.

c) *Universities and teachers' colleges.* Staff in these institutions have both expertise in their subject areas and a good professional reason to be enthusiastic about development of the school system.

d) *Other parts of the community.* Other community members may include local artists, editors and writers, retired teachers and ministry officials, church workers, etc.. Such people may undertake work either voluntarily or on contract.

e) *Abroad.* International organisations, such as UNESCO and UNICEF, are often keen to assist with curriculum development. They may be able to provide both equipment and technical assistance. Help may also be obtained from regional bodies and from bilateral donors.

Action Plan for Subject Development, Niue

Subject in Order of Priority	Beginning Date	Target Date	Subject Development	Comment	Subject Committee
1. Niuean Language - Phonics/Printing - Spelling - Reading - Written Expression	June 1989	June 1990	Refer to Strategies for Subject Development. A Niuean Reading Series needs to be established. produced.	Trialling Niue Language resources and programmes begin as soon as materials are	Nogi, Viva, Kou, Tiva, Niu
2. English Language - Oral English - Spelling - Reading - Written Expression - Handwriting	July 1989	June 1990	Refer to Strategies for Subject Development. There Fiafia Reading Programme revised and more stories required for Classes 4, 5 and 6.	Other overseas sources will be used in this transition period.	Tena, Jennifer, Matini, Sifa, Tiva
3. Mathematics	July 1990	Dec. 1990	NZ mathematics course is the basis of programme development. Texts will be adapted to suit.	Teaching handbook needed to provide guidelines.	Sabina, Ata, Ela, Sifa
4. Social Science	Feb. 1991	June 1991	Using strategies for subject development to identify stages needing development.	The existing resources need to be reproduced.	(to be decided)
5. Science	July 1991	Dec. 1991	Basic course needed. Confer with High School HoD for assistance.	NZ science primary syllabus will be referred to.	(to be decided)

6. Health and Art	Feb. 1991	June 1992	1. Health course to be updated. Ask Health Dept. for assistance. 2. Art Course: using NZ art syllabus and existing syllabus.	Health and Art will be developed concurrently.	2 EOs responsible for development. May need to consult resource teachers rather than have a committee.
7. Cultural Studies - Craft/Weaving	July 1992	Dec. 1992	Using current syllabi to determine beginning of development.	A subject committee is not necessary as teachers and resources are readily available.	Curriculum Officers in consultation with resource teachers.
8. Sewing, Horticulture	Feb. 1993	June 1993	Basic course required for both subjects. Existing syllabi serve as guidelines.	Subject committee necessary for both subjects, initially. Request resource teachers at NHS to assist Horticulture and Sewing programmes.	
9. Physical Education	July 1993	Dec. 1993	A basic programme for Physical Education is most needed. Refer to NZ PE courses.	Initially a subject committee meets to establish general guidelines. Then Curriculum Officers continue in consultation with resource teachers.	
10. Music			Similarly for Music.		

This table shows a good action plan for curriculum development in a very small state. Features particularly worth noting include:

1. The plan has been carefully worked out, subject by subject, with priorities and recommended target dates.
2. In the subjects which will be dealt with first, the plan identifies the people who will do the work. Individuals to work on subsequent activities will be identified later. [Note also that, reflecting the small country framework in which everybody knows everybody else intimately, only first names are used!]
3. The plan identifies external resources for assistance. Material resources include New Zealand syllabuses. Human resources include officers in the Health Department and teachers in schools.
4. The plan notes that subject committees are not necessary in every subject. It appears careful and realistic in assessing needs.

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While in some countries identification and harnessing of external resources is solely the job of the curriculum unit, in other countries it is a broader responsibility. Barbados, for example, has a National Curriculum Development Council which collaborates with the curriculum unit to co-ordinate planning and research. Solomon Islands has a similar Curriculum Co-ordinating Committee.

4. Examinations and accreditation

Examination systems are powerful determinants of the actual curriculum in schools. It is not always easy for the governments of small countries to decide whether to set their own examinations or whether to use those of foreign countries.

The main *advantage* of operating domestic examinations is that the assessments can be designed to support the authorities' curriculum priorities. This may include examinations in local languages, and about local economics, geography, history, etc..

The main *disadvantages* of operating domestic examinations are that small countries:

- have small pools of teachers and others from whom to draw suitable questions,
- encounter high unit costs in administration,
- find it difficult to ensure confidentiality and security, and
- may find that the qualifications are not recognised outside the country, and therefore that citizens encounter difficulty either gaining employment or proceeding to further studies abroad.

Some countries have secured a good compromise by joining schemes for regional examinations. The Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC), mentioned in Chapter 4, is an example. The South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment (SPBEA) is another. The Gambia is a member of the West African Examinations Council (WAEC), though this is of a rather different nature since the other four members are much larger countries. Nigeria, which has a population over 120 million, is the dominant partner in WAEC, and The Gambia has not always found its concerns given as much recognition as it would like.

Elsewhere, countries have decided to retain the services of foreign examining boards. Botswana, Brunei Darussalam, Mauritius, Seychelles, Swaziland and Trinidad still use examinations set by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate. The Syndicate is willing as far as possible to meet their specialist needs, including operating some country-specific examinations for example in Malay and in Islamic Religious Knowledge for Brunei Darussalam. The countries find that on balance it is more appropriate to remain with the University of Cambridge than to try to replace the credential with their own system.

Other countries which are only semi-independent use the examinations of the country with which they are associated. Guernsey and Jersey, for example, use the General Certificate in Secondary Education (GCSE) examinations of the United Kingdom; pupils in government schools in Macau take Portuguese examinations; and students in Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau sit New Zealand examinations.

New Zealand used to set a specific South Pacific Option for students in the neighbouring small states. However, this option was phased out in 1988. Both in preparation for the phasing out and subsequently, New Zealand gave considerable financial and other support to the South Pacific Board for Educational Assessment. Many small states then felt able to use the SPBEA as their main substitute for the South Pacific Option in the New Zealand examinations. However, the authorities in Cook Islands and Niue felt that their countries were so closely tied to New Zealand that it would be better to sit the full New Zealand Form 5 and 6 examinations than to take the SPBEA ones.

Decisions on the most appropriate strategy for examinations and accreditation are not easy. Planners have to weigh many factors, including the financial and manpower cost of running their own examinations, international recognition, and the effects of examinations on what is taught in schools. In small countries the dilemmas make decision-making much more difficult than in large countries, and no solutions are perfect.

5. Production of textbooks

The problem

Because the domestic markets of small countries are small, it is difficult to encourage commercial publishers to compete to produce books. If one textbook is already available in a particular subject, commercial publishers are rarely enthusiastic to produce another textbook, irrespective of the quality of the existing book.

In some cases, indeed, no books are produced at all. For example, until the 1990s no textbooks were produced for Macau. All books were imported, despite their questionable relevance. The most popular source was Hong Kong, where commercial competition for a sizeable market

Identity and examination systems

To gain economies of scale and wide recognition of qualifications, in 1972 the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean set up the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC).

However, the nature of syllabuses and examinations still proves problematic. On one occasion an education officer in Antigua refused to endorse a draft history syllabus because his country was not specifically mentioned.

Do you feel that this officer was justified? What implications would his views have on the operation of the education systems in the Caribbean countries?

had led to a good range of books in almost every subject. But although these books were good for Hong Kong, they were less appropriate for Macau. The geography and social studies books, for example, focused on Hong Kong topography, transportation, government, laws and money. Macau students did not even have a history book which focused on the territory. As a result, many students learned more about the neighbouring society than about their own.

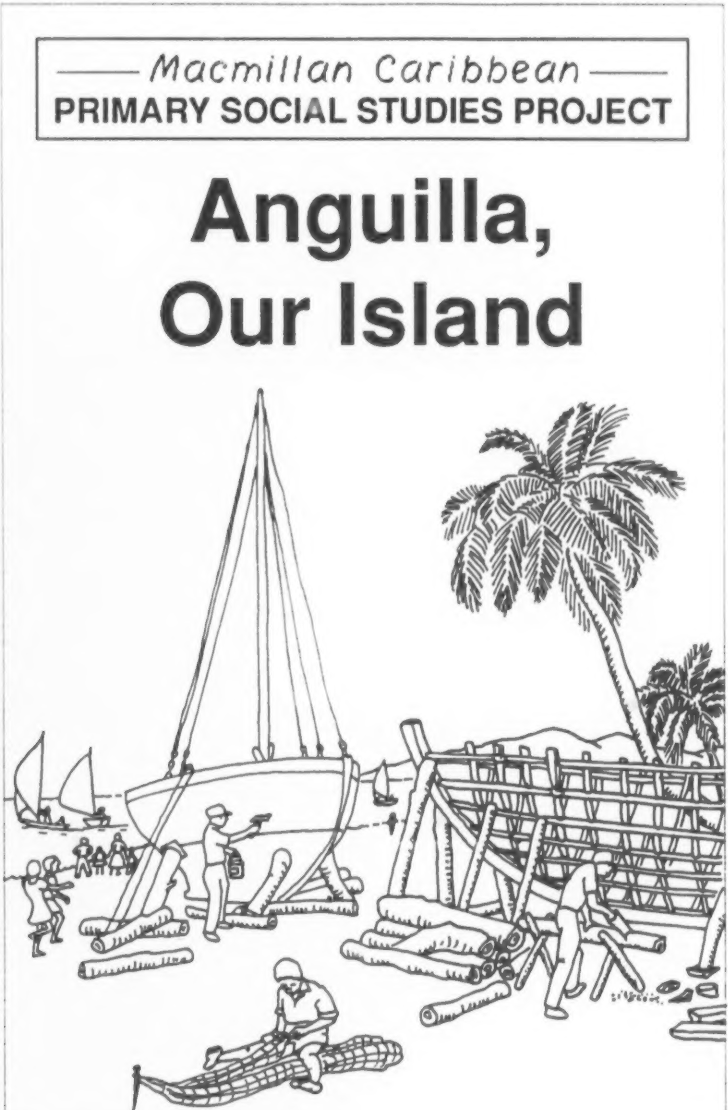
This example, it must be admitted, is extreme. However, it is not uncommon for small countries to have to import books at the senior secondary levels. At best they might be able to use books prepared for the region as a whole.

Two case studies

Recognising the undesirability of the type of situation described above, especially at the lower levels of the education system, many governments have taken an active role in their own textbook production. The two case studies which follow may be described as success stories which show what is possible under certain circumstances.

Success story I: Anguilla

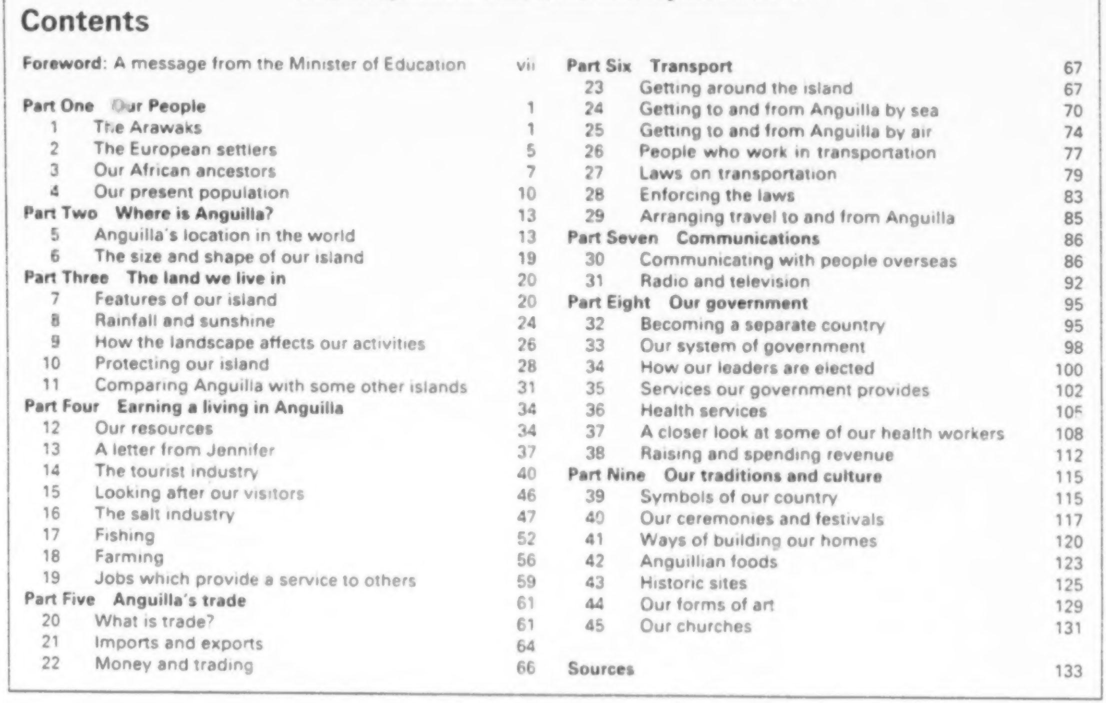
One example of what is possible is that of a primary school social



Macmillan Caribbean
PRIMARY SOCIAL STUDIES PROJECT

Anguilla,
Our Island

Contents Page from the Social Studies Book 'Anguilla, Our Island'



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studies textbook produced in Anguilla in 1990. With a population of just 8,000, Anguilla is among the smallest of the small. But the book, entitled *Anguilla, Our Island*, is both attractive and successful. The book's cover and list of contents are reproduced on the previous two pages.

Preparation of the book was an excellent example of co-operation among teachers, a university and an international organisation. The first draft was written in 1986 by a team of nine Anguillian primary school teachers. The workshop was planned and directed by a senior lecturer in Social Studies Education at the University of the West Indies (UWI), together with a consultant recruited through UNESCO. Earlier that year the same group had inaugurated the Anguilla Social Studies Curriculum Development Committee, and had drafted a new Primary Social Studies Programme for Classes 1 to 6. The syllabuses for Classes 3 to 6 leaned heavily on the output of a UWI-USAID Primary Education Project. This particular book provided material on Anguilla for Class 4.

From the list of contents, it will be seen that the book covers key topics. Every child in every country ought to have materials on such topics, though regrettably not every country has yet made the effort exemplified by Anguilla. The final manuscript was the result of considerable interaction among the authors. The book has many drawings and photographs, some in colour. The contract for the actual printing was made with a commercial company, Macmillan (Caribbean). Unit costs were certainly high; but the Anguillians were able to secure much of the necessary finance through external aid.

Success story II: Solomon Islands

For many years, schools in Solomon Islands were heavily reliant on imported books, especially at the secondary level. In the 1980s, however, the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) was expanded and strengthened with external funding from Australia and the World Bank.

The CDC decided that it was not necessary to produce a complete set of local materials. Where commercially published overseas materials were suitable, they were used instead of or in addition to local materials. A series published in Australia for Papua New Guinea was used for English; and an Australian series was adapted for science to supplement local units.

All locally written or adapted materials were printed at the CDC printery by off-set litho or by duplication. The unit had a graphics section with three artists. In contrast to the Anguilla project, the emphasis was more on low-cost production than on high-quality printing in full colour.

The CDC staff worked closely with teams of teachers and consultants. They achieved impressive output (Table 8), which had a considerable impact on the schools. By 1987, many subjects had complete or nearly complete sets of materials up to Form 3 (Grade 9). Many materials were still in trial, but most in mathematics and business studies had either been revised after trialling or were in the process of revision. Plans had been set both to cover the rest of the curriculum and, through in-service work, to strengthen the ways in which teachers used the materials.

This achievement showed what was possible with good leadership and strong commitment. In this particular project, of course, the external inputs of finance and expertise were also of considerable importance.

Table 8: Output from the Curriculum Development Centre, Solomon Islands

Year	Students' Books	Teachers' Books and Syllabuses
1978-81	32	12
1982	26	9
1983	53	20
1984	21	3
1985	23	4
1986	17	3
1987 (to June)	17	7
TOTAL	189	58

Models and options

From these other experiences it is useful to draw out several points which planners may find significant.

First, the invention of photocopiers, word-processors and laser printers has made it much easier to produce small print-runs at low cost. Book production is a much less daunting task than it used to be.

However, there is more to textbook-production than mere use of a word-processor and laser printer. Skills are required in layout of text, selection of styles and size of print, choice of illustrations, planning of print-runs, storage and distribution of books, inventory control, accounting, and determination of prices. Planners need to ensure that these skills also exist as part of the overall 'package' for textbook-production.

While some ministries operate their own printeries, others prepare the basic materials but contract the printing to commercial enterprises. The latter is often cheaper, and can lead to a better quality product. Also, because the ministries can place their orders with different companies according to need, the operation may be more flexible.

Finally, while most governments would prefer to have books written specifically for their countries, this often remains impossible, especially at the senior secondary level. One solution is to encourage publishers to work on a regional basis. They are often particularly willing to do this where the market is expanded through a common syllabus, e.g. for the Caribbean Examinations Council. A book produced for a regional market is often better than one produced for a completely external market.

However, curriculum planners should avoid thinking that 'local is *always* best'. If it proves impossible to prepare good local or regional books, then it may still be better to import foreign books. Issues of economics, quality and relevance have to be weighed carefully against each other. Also, in some countries local publication has been a force for conservatism which could have been reduced had the books still been imported.

6. Summary

Whilst many of the curriculum goals of small countries are the same as in larger countries, there are also significant differences. This chapter began by recalling a few of those differences, and in particular highlighting tensions between national cultures and international links. Curriculum development is so central to national identity and the education process that some ministries consider curriculum development units even more necessary than planning units.

However, the size of curriculum units varies widely. This partly reflects the size of countries and what individual systems can afford in both financial and human resources. It also reflects differences in the mode of operation. The chapter has suggested that it may be more appropriate for curriculum units to see themselves as managers of production rather than actual producers.

Section 3 then turned to sources of external expertise. The most important source is within the schools, i.e. the teachers and principals.

Expertise can also be found elsewhere in the ministry of education, in other ministries, in universities and teachers' colleges, in the community, and abroad.

The fourth section focused on systems of examination and accreditation. This topic again highlights the dilemmas facing many small countries. Reconciling the needs of local relevance and international recognition is a persistent challenge. The section noted the range of strategies through which various small countries deal with this issue. The chapter concluded with a review of issues associated with the production of textbooks for small countries.

Chapter 6

Planning for special needs

Many types of pupil have special education needs, most obviously the disabled. Provision for such pupils may be particularly difficult in small systems, in part because the systems cannot easily provide specialised services. These matters are discussed in the first section of this chapter.

Planners may also encounter difficulties in meeting other special needs. The second section of the chapter embraces a diverse collection, including the specially talented and pupils from minority language groups.

To enlarge on general concepts, the chapter then presents case studies of two very different countries: Jersey in Europe, and Niue in the South Pacific. Jersey is well endowed, and its authorities make strong efforts to meet all needs. The authorities in Niue also make strong efforts, but find themselves even more disadvantaged by the fact that their system is among the smallest of the small.

1. The disabled

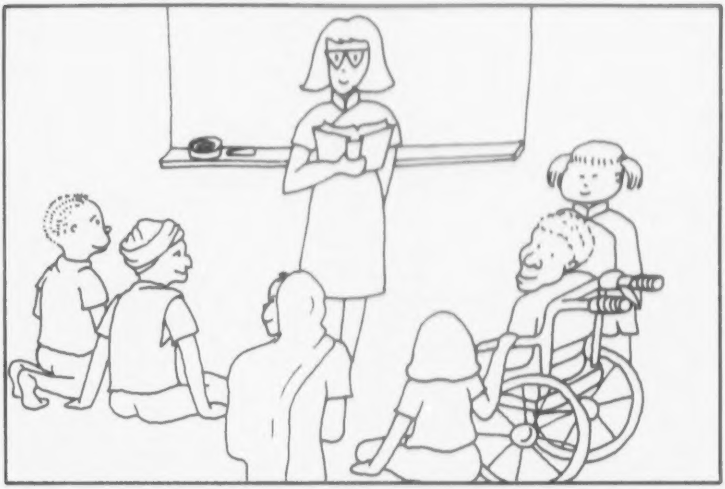
Whereas large countries can more easily provide specialised institutions and equipment for the greater number of disabled people who need them, this may not be easy in small countries, particularly in poor ones. In countries with small populations it is often difficult to find staff with appropriate skills and attitudes; and even when such people are available, it may be difficult to justify their salaries when they only serve a small group of children.

Bhutan, for example, has one school for blind. In 1991 it had only 24 pupils, scattered from pre-primary to Grade 10, but had to employ nine teaching and another nine non-teaching staff. It also required considerable specialist equipment and materials, with the result that unit costs were extremely high. The Bhutan government has not yet felt able to open institutions for the deaf, the physically disabled, or the mentally retarded.

Because of the financial and staffing difficulties, governments in many small countries, perhaps even more than their counterparts in large countries, rely on non-government organisations. In almost all small countries of the South Pacific, education for the disabled is provided through church and other private organisations. However, many of these bodies face the same constraints on facilities and staff as do governments.

It is theoretically possible to send children with disabilities abroad for special care. This solution, apart from being expensive and élitist, is usually considered desirable only when very specialised care is required since it separates children from their homes and cultures.

It is also worth noting that professional opinion on the best ways to help handicapped children has changed in recent years. Whereas most experts used to recommend creation of special institutions, now it is more common for experts to recommend that, as far as possible, handicapped children should be integrated into ordinary schools. This is reflected in official policy in Barbados:[34]



Contemporary professional opinion recommends that handicapped pupils should as far as possible be integrated with other pupils in mainstream schools. This reduces the need for specialised institutions. However, teachers still need considerable guidance and support, to help them deal simultaneously with both normal and handicapped children.

> The special education programme will integrate the disabled with their normal peers in order to stimulate the disabled and to encourage normal children to appreciate the physical and mental differences in them.

Such policies reduce the extent to which small countries themselves feel handicapped in catering for the disabled.

2. Other special needs

While on the one hand governments try to meet the special needs of the disabled, most authorities would also like special provision for the mentally gifted. This is also included in the Barbados policy statement, though it is only given a single sentence at the end of a longer section on the handicapped. Authorities would like to be able to arrange special classes for the talented, but often this can only be done within the constraints of the ordinary school system.

Many small countries also face constraints in catering for linguistic minorities. For example:

- Solomon Islands has over 80 vernaculars. Officially, however, the school system operates almost exclusively in English. Little capacity exists even for Solomons Pijin, a trade language which has become the country's main *lingua franca*.
- A similar situation exists in nearby Vanuatu. The education system has already been fragmented by a joint British and French colonial heritage. According to official policy, schools provide instruction in either English or French. Little provision is made even for Bislama, Vanuatu's own trade language, let alone for the country's 40 other languages.
- In Guinea-Bissau, the language of instruction is Portuguese. The authorities did briefly experiment in the 1960s with use of Creole, but the difficulties of developing it or any of the vernaculars as the medium of instruction proved too great.
- A similar situation exists in Gabon. The country has about 40 ethnic groups, each of which has its own language. However, all education is in French.

Nevertheless, the government of Vanuatu does manage to provide separate education systems in English and French. This is costly but essential for political reasons. Similarly, the University of Cyprus operates in both Greek and Turkish; and the Arabian Gulf University works in both Arabic and English.

Turning to demands for particular subjects, the government of Iceland provides an impressive array of teacher training specialisms. In 1989 the Icelandic College of Pre-School Teachers had 200 students in a pre-service course and 10 students on an in-service course; the Reykjavik College of Music had 11 student-teachers on a pre-service course; and the Icelandic College of Physical Education had 58 student-teachers on a pre-service course. Iceland is of course relatively prosperous, but its government still has to operate within severe manpower constraints.

Many small countries also cater for religious and racial diversity. For example, separate schools catering for Seventh-day Adventists may be found in countries as far apart as Tonga and Montserrat; Fiji has separate schools for Indian children, and Solomon Islands has a separate school for Chinese children.

These are just a few examples to show that many small countries do manage somehow to cater for diversity. In some cases their provision is more impressive than that in larger countries. The fact that authorities do so much within the constraints of small size is in many cases little short of heroic.

3. Two case studies

Jersey

The island of Jersey, off the north coast of France, is a sovereign state governed in association with the United Kingdom (UK). It gains considerable income from off-shore banking and from tourism, and with a per capita income exceeding US$17,000, is very prosperous. The island has a population of 80,000.

Although Jersey is not bound by United Kingdom education legislation, it does follow many UK practices. The UK's 1944 Education Act set out 11 categories of handicap requiring provision outside mainstream schools. Jersey's small numbers did not permit this type of provision, and many pupils therefore had to remain in the mainstream. Subsequently, the UK's 1978 Warnock Report and 1981 Education Act recommended that, as far as possible, children with special education needs should be integrated within ordinary schools. Jersey thus found that, having earlier adopted a pragmatic approach, it was ahead of the times!

Today's provision is impressive. Table 9 shows the numbers of pupils enrolled in the principal special education institutions. An additional 1,200 out of 10,200 pupils receive support within mainstream primary and secondary schools.

Table 9: Provision for special education, Jersey, 1988

	Pupils	Teachers	School Assistants
Mont à l'Abbé School	71	13	6
Bel Royal School	19	3	2
Les Quennevais School	4	1	2
St. James' Centre	18	4	-
Les Chênes Residential Centre	12	7	6
Hearing Impaired Service	10	4	1
Visually Impaired Service	12	2	-
English as a Second Language	12	1	-
Total	158	35	17

Specialist institutions cater for many types of need. The largest institution, Mont à l'Abbé, provides education for children with severe learning difficulties. It became the responsibility of the Education Committee in 1962, a decade before similar institutions in the United Kingdom were taken over by Local Education Authorities.

Bel Royal is a mainstream primary school with a local catchment area. However, it was purpose-built for pupils with physical disabilities from an island-wide catchment area. It has 203 pupils, of whom 19 have physical disabilities.

Les Quennevais provides for physically handicapped pupils of secondary age. The school has managed to integrate some very difficult children, including one who was unacceptable to any boarding school in the UK. Most pupils are of average or low academic ability, but one has high ability.

St. James' Centre provides for children with such severe behavioural, social and emotional problems that placement in mainstream schools has proved unsuccessful. Les Chênes Residential school is a comparable institution providing residential care and education for delinquent children, some of whom are sent there by the law courts. Between 1977 and 1988, 55 pupils completed extended courses at Les Chênes. Among these, two were subsequently placed in senior schools in the UK, four required treatment as psychiatric in-patients, and 10 were sentenced to terms at the Young Offenders Centre or prison. The remaining 39 caused no further problems within the community.

Support for children with visual and hearing impairments is provided by mobile teachers. The shift towards integration of pupils within the mainstream has required a range of new teaching and management skills, not only for the mobile specialists but also for ordinary teachers in the receiving schools.

Finally, the Education Department makes special provision for children for whom English is a second language. Extraction groups convene at specific schools either on particular days or at particular times each day. When pupils have achieved sufficient English to 'survive' within mainstream education, they return to their own schools.

Despite the extensive nature of this specialist provision, some pupils suffer from disabilities that are too severe for institutions in Jersey to manage. In 1988, 13 pupils were receiving special education in the United Kingdom (Table 10).

Table 10: Jersey pupils receiving special education in the UK, 1988

Visually impaired	5
Hearing impaired	6
Language disordered	1
Emotionally and behaviourally disturbed	1
Total	13

Jersey also benefits from links with the United Kingdom in several other ways. Almost all staff have received training there, and some, including the principal officer in the Education Department, are UK expatriates. The institutions also gain extensive advice from UK inspectors and other specialists. Several institutions have professional linkages with UK centres of expertise.

Niue

The island of Niue is a sovereign state governed in free association with New Zealand. With a population of just 2,000 it is much smaller than Jersey. Also, with a per capita income of only US$1,200 it is in a very different economic category.

Partly because of these factors, effective provision for special educational needs is more difficult. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, a special class was established in one school to cater for disabled children. Another government scheme sponsored disabled children for schooling in New Zealand.

However, by the late 1980s these programmes had been abandoned. The result, according to a 1988 review of the system, was very unsatisfactory:[35]

> We found the present policies and organisation of the department (of education) to be lacking in providing for the special educational needs of the disabled child.

Disabled children were either attending normal classes in the schools but with no provision for their special needs, or were cared for by families at home and by sisters of the Catholic mission.

Members of the review committee knew of five disabled school-aged children, of whom four were attending school and one was under private care. The report continued:

> The Department of Education, not for want of trying, could not provide for the special educational needs of these children. Trained staff and facilities were not available for this type of special education.

Niue is also constrained in catering for diversity among its other school children. The island has only one secondary school, which has 24 teachers and goes up to Form 6 level. For Form 7 studies, students must go to New Zealand. The 1988 review of the education system felt that the school was already offering too many options, for some classes had only four or five students. The school did succeed in some curriculum broadening by allowing students to take correspondence courses from New Zealand. In 1987, the school offered 13 subjects for School Certificate, of which three were by correspondence. The results were good, and "reflected the standard of education available at Niue High School and the quality of teaching".[36] However, the extent to which the education system could meet diverse needs remained constrained.

4. Summary

Most discussion in this chapter has focused on the needs of the handicapped. Small countries cannot easily afford the diversity of facilities and specialist expertise required for small numbers of children with learning difficulties.

Small countries also encounter difficulties in meeting other special needs. These include the needs of the particularly talented, and of minority language and cultural groups. However, some countries do provide a remarkable degree of diversity in their education systems.

The circumstances of Jersey and Niue are obviously very different. Jersey has a population of 80,000 compared with Niue's 2,000, and its per capita income exceeds US$17,000 compared with Niue's US$1,200. These differences are reflected in the range of provision. The service in Jersey is impressive, and outshines that in many larger countries. Several factors help the authorities to achieve this. Not least is that Jersey can afford low pupil:teacher ratios, high salaries, and good equipment and facilities. Provision is also assisted by the highly personalised nature of the system, which helps the authorities to identify pupils with special needs. The government of Niue, however, has been too severely stretched in other areas to have been able to attend effectively to special education needs. The contrast once again emphasises that although small countries have many inherent advantages, they may also face serious obstacles in full educational provision.

Chapter 7

Planning for post-secondary education

Most governments of small countries meet a large proportion of post-secondary education needs by sending students abroad. However, governments also wish to develop domestic provision. The relative advantages of local and foreign provision require careful analysis.

This chapter begins by discussing demands and constraints. Section 1 highlights social, political, economic and educational factors in the pressure for local provision of post-secondary education. Section 2 notes financial and human constraints.

Section 3 then turns to ways in which small states may tackle the constraints. It chiefly focuses on ways to enlarge institutions and thereby gain economies of scale.

The fourth section discusses the alternative strategy of sending students abroad. Despite the arguments favouring domestic provision, there will always be a need for some external study. The section highlights ways through which governments of small countries can get the best deals in overseas training.

Section 5 then focuses on distance education. This is becoming an increasingly important way through which individuals gain education and training. It may be particularly useful to small countries unable to afford their own specialised institutions.

Finally, the chapter stresses the need for plans which identify specific individuals, dates, locations and specialisms for training. Although this need might seem obvious, many small states lack training plans. The absence of such plans leads to inefficiency and waste that small countries can ill afford.

1. The demand for domestic provision

Social and political factors

It is commonly asserted that post-secondary institutions are strongly needed in states of all sizes in order to provide social and political leadership. This argument has led to the foundation of colleges and universities in some of the smallest countries. The institutions often have high costs, but decision-makers in small states may consider the prices worth paying.

Taking a specific example, the argument about social leadership was a strong factor behind establishment of the University of the Virgin Islands. One supporter of this institution asserted that the people of the US Virgin Islands had constantly suffered from their colonial history and, especially during the latter half of this century, from tensions arising from their relationship with the USA.[37] He suggested that this created identity conflicts, with people on the one hand seeking their own Caribbean life-style but on the other hand being heavily influenced by American values and consumption patterns. The writer considered it essential to develop local capacity to analyse and reduce social tensions. The principal institution for the task, he suggested, should be the College of the Virgin Islands, a post-secondary institution founded in 1963 and later upgraded to university status.

Such perceptions have parallels elsewhere. They have been among the rationales for such institutions as the Universities of Cyprus, the Faeroe Islands, Conakry (Guinea), Iceland and San Marino.

In many small countries, perspectives are also influenced by problems of brain drain. Countries without their own post-secondary institutions have to send their students abroad for further studies, from which many never return. One administrator who traced what happened to Cook Islanders who acquired medical qualifications reported that:[38]

> Almost all of those with qualifications that are recognised overseas and who have not gone into politics are practising medicine in New Zealand (where there are 4 Cook Island doctors), American Samoa (1), Western Samoa (1), Solomon Islands (1) and United Kingdom (1).

Similar problems are found in many other small countries. It is commonly argued that establishment of domestic institutions can reduce the brain drain.

A further factor concerns the curriculum. Many small states find that their overseas students waste time and effort meeting foreign academic requirements which are unrelated to their own occupational requirements and prospects. Perhaps worse, many students become alienated from their home environments. If the larger countries in which they study are prosperous, the students may acquire tastes for material comforts which cannot be provided when they return home.

They may also be encouraged to view themselves as specialist professionals -- an outlook which is legitimate and desirable in large countries but which may be less appropriate for small ones. In the worst cases, when small-country students return home they are unwilling and untrained to undertake the generalist work which is needed most urgently.

Overseas students may also fail to learn about broader areas of their countries' development needs. It was with this in mind that the participants in a recent international meeting on post-secondary colleges suggested that there is:[39]

> a strong concern in many small states to increase the level of commitment amongst their citizens to national human resource development. The post-secondary college ... can retain some of its most promising students for longer periods than hitherto and thereby enhance the chance that they will understand the contribution that they can play in their nation's development.

Delegates noted that the efforts of nation-building would be assisted by programmes on local history, culture and development challenges.

Finally, institutions of post-secondary education, and particularly universities, can be a focus for national pride. To many people a university is a symbol of nationhood comparable to a currency, a legal system and an airline. This has been a powerful factor leading to the establishment of the Universities of Mauritius, Guyana and Western Samoa, for example. It was also a factor behind the pledge of the Solomon Islands People's Alliance Party to create a national university by 1995. Leaders in other small states may be more easily deterred by financial and other constraints; but many hold similar aspirations for the long term.

Economic factors

The most obvious economic expectation of post-secondary education is manpower training. Nearly all post-secondary institutions have the manpower rationale high on the list of reasons for their existence.

Training can, of course, be undertaken abroad as well as at home. However, four economic arguments may be presented for providing it at home:

- *Brain drain.* Although some small states deliberately encourage export of manpower in order to gain remittances from overseas workers, most governments are ambivalent about the strategy

and realise that it threatens domestic economic development. Thus local provision of post-secondary education to reduce the brain drain may have an economic as well as a social rationale.
- *Employment.* Higher education institutions generate substantial employment not only for teaching staff but also for administrative personnel, cleaners, cooks and other support staff. Even modest institutions may have a major impact on the labour market of small countries.
- *Balance of payments.* Although many small states gain aid for overseas training, most students also require support from their families and/or home governments. This is a foreign exchange cost to the local economy, and the students' fees and other expenditures contribute to a foreign country rather than to their own.
- *Aid.* Institutions of post-secondary education commonly become focal points for aid and cultural exchange projects, not only in impoverished small countries but also in relatively prosperous ones.

Educational factors

Educators from a wide range of countries have deplored the tendency of tertiary institutions to dominate education systems. They argue that the entrance requirements of tertiary institutions distort the curricula of secondary and even primary schools, and that the needs of the small minority who undertake post-secondary education overshadow the needs of the majority who can never do so.

This perspective certainly has considerable validity. However it may be contrasted with a view from countries which lack domestic provision of post-secondary education. The fact that in such countries the education system has no apex may create problems of motivation at lower levels. Noting the situation in St. Helena, for example, one writer remarks that:[40]

> because St. Helenians cannot normally expect to have access to further or higher education, academic achievement is not highly regarded. As a result the considerable investment in primary and secondary education on the island is taking a very long time to produce the technically and professionally qualified manpower its economy must have to be self supporting.

Of course in one sense even territories like St. Helena do have an apex to their educational pyramid, for post-secondary education may be undertaken abroad. However, in these cases new problems arise. The first, as noted above, is one of relevance. Second, when large numbers of students go abroad for post-secondary education the domestic education system has to be adapted to fit foreign entry requirements. As observed in Chapter 2, this factor makes it difficult for the authorities to orient secondary and primary education as much to local societies as they might wish.

2. Constraints on domestic provision

For all but the most prosperous of small countries, the most obvious constraint on provision of post-secondary education is financial. Higher education is expensive, and costs assume greater prominence in small economies than in large ones. This observation would be valid even if unit costs were the same in small states as in large ones. In practice, however, unit costs are usually greater in small states because institutions find it difficult to achieve economies of scale.

Yet finance is not the only constraint. This may be demonstrated by the experience of Brunei Darussalam, which has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. Brunei Darussalam does have its own university, but in the midst of financial plenty the institution faces staffing constraints. Because of the youth of the country, in Brunei Darussalam the need to recruit staff from abroad is even more prominent than in other small states. In 1988, only 10 per cent of the university staff were citizens; and many of these were required for administration and were thus unavailable for teaching and research. This dependence on foreign staff has had major implications for the political and cultural character of the university.

Difficulties in recruiting students are perhaps less widely expected, but may be just as problematic. Countries with small populations often find that their tertiary institutions have an inadequate supply of applicants. In many cases, the problem of supply is exacerbated by low secondary school enrolment rates. In the late 1980s Suriname, for example, had a secondary enrolment rate below 50 per cent, and the rate in Equatorial Guinea was below 20 per cent.

Moreover even when enrolment rates are high, qualitative factors may still restrict the supply of eligible applicants. This has been another problem in Brunei Darussalam, with the result that some programmes in the university are very small. For example, in 1988 the Physics Department had just seven students. Likewise, in 1990 the University of Macau had just three students in its first year Arts programme.

In rich countries, the loss of economies of scale is less important than it would be elsewhere, but the small size of classes creates other problems. Although small numbers may permit an enviable personalisation of the teaching and learning process, they may also cause staff to feel underemployed. In the worst cases staff are unwilling to take their jobs seriously, and neglect the preparation of full lectures, reading lists, examinations and other matters which they might have been more willing to undertake for larger student groups.

3. Models for domestic provision

Despite the constraints, many small countries do succeed in operating post-secondary institutions. This section presents some ways through which they do so. The models are not universally applicable, for what works well in one country may not work at all in another. Nevertheless, the contrasts are often as illuminating as the commonalities.

The basic question in most cases is how to gain institutions of sufficient size to permit economies of scale and subject specialisation. Four strategies are outlined. The first two are internally-oriented and involve creation of multi-level and multi-faceted institutions. The other two are externally-oriented and focus on international recruitment and regional co-operation.

Multi-level institutions

Institutions with a restricted focus on degree programmes are likely to be smaller than ones which also provide sub-degree courses. Likewise, institutions with a three-year basic length of degree courses are likely to be smaller than ones with four-year courses. Thus one strategy for enlarging institutions is to offer courses with a range of levels and fairly long durations.

The University of Mauritius illustrates this point. Table 11 shows that the institution's main emphasis has been on sub-degree rather than degree work, but that it has also awarded M.Phil. and Ph.D. degrees. The University of Brunei Darussalam operates in a similar way. Most degree courses last for four years, and the university runs various sub-degree courses in teacher education and technical subjects. In other countries post-secondary colleges also offer 'A' level or senior secondary certificate courses, together with short courses for general interest adult education.

Table 11: Output from the University of Mauritius, 1968-84

1. University of Mauritius Awards	
(a) Certificates	1,325
(b) Diplomas	1,482
(c) Degrees	215
(d) Post-Graduate Degrees	21
2. Courses for External Awards	
(a) London City & Guilds	1,160
(b) ACCA (Pre-Final)	957
(c) ACCA (Finals)	54
3. Research Degrees	
(a) M.Phil.	4
(b) Ph.D.	1

This strategy, it must be recognised, is not without problems. It negatively affects the external image of some institutions, especially universities which run many sub-degree programmes. Also, institutions often find that professional constraints limit sharing of staff. Staff teaching 'A' level courses may not be sufficiently qualified also to teach degree-level students, and staff who teach at the university level are often unwilling to undertake senior-secondary work.

Multi-faceted institutions

The second strategy, allied to the first, encourages institutions to offer a diverse range of courses. Colleges of higher education are often formed by amalgamating existing specialist post-secondary institutions. For example the College of the Bahamas was formed by merging the Bahamas Teachers' College, the San Salvador Teachers' College, the C.R. Walker Technical College and the sixth form programme of the Government High School. Similarly, the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College in St. Lucia was formed by merging the St. Lucia Teachers' College, the Morne Fortune Technical College, and the St. Lucia 'A' Level College.

This strategy may also raise difficulties. The staff of smaller institutions may resent loss of identity following merger into larger bodies, and problems are compounded when individual campuses are distant from each other. However, the strategy has become increasingly popular. The list of institutions in Table 12 includes many which have been formed quite recently.

Table 12: Multi-faceted post-secondary colleges in selected countries

Institution	Year of Foundation
Barbados Community College	1968
College of the Bahamas	1974
Antigua State College	1977
The Gambia College	1979
Clifton Dupigny Community College (Dominica)	1982
Seychelles Polytechnic	1983
Solomon Islands College of Higher Education	1985
Sir Arthur Lewis Community College (St. Lucia)	1986
St. Kitts & Nevis College of Further Education	1988
Tonga Community Development & Training Centre	1988
Grenada National College	1988

International recruitment

A further way to enlarge institutions is to recruit students (and staff) from outside the country. This may be achieved in several ways.

One method open to countries which are rich is to offer scholarships to students from other countries. The University of Brunei Darussalam offers scholarships to the other five member countries of the Association of South East Asian Nations. Present numbers are small, but senior officers have proposed to raise the quota of scholarships to 100. As a proportion of the 1988 enrolment of 940, this appears a considerable number.

An alternative strategy taps demand from neighbouring territories. At the University of Guam, for example, only 47 per cent of the 1987 enrolment were Guamanian. Many of the other students were from elsewhere in Micronesia, but some came from as far away as the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan and Japan.

A comparable example is the University of Macau, which taps demand from Hong Kong. In 1987 [when it was called the University of East Asia], as many as 44 per cent of the university's full-time students and 88 per cent of its part-time ones were Hong Kong citizens. Macau is in rather a special position because it is so close to another territory which has not only a large population but also a shortage of locally-available post-secondary education. However, the university has also run special programmes for students as far away as Malaysia.

An allied strategy follows a similar pattern but focuses on establishment of an international reputation in specific subject specialisms. This approach was successfully adopted, for example, by the Central Medical School in Fiji and by the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad. Because of their sound reputations, these institutions were able to recruit from very wide areas.

Yet it must be recognised that external recruitment may also bring problems. The most obvious difficulty concerns the extent to which institutions can retain their identity and really serve the small states in which they are sited. The government of Brunei Darussalam is anxious to preserve the character of the nation, a Malay Sultanate in which Sunni Islam is the official religion. The university is reluctant to host large numbers of students whose outlooks could cause discord, and it would not be easy to recruit individuals who simultaneously have the required academic qualifications, appropriate religious identifications, and acceptable personal values.

The strategy pursued by the University of Macau presents similar drawbacks. The most obvious concerns the implications of external recruitment for the nature of courses. Because so many students come from Hong Kong, most courses are taught in English rather than Portuguese. Moreover the course in Business Law, for example, focuses exclusively on the Hong Kong legal system rather than that of Macau.

Regional co-operation

Regional co-operation is a more commonly advocated strategy to meet the needs of small countries. This book has already pointed to some successful endeavours, and discussion does not need to be repeated. In higher education, the most notable examples are the University of the West Indies (UWI) and the University of the South Pacific (USP).

Some additional examples of co-operation in post-secondary education are less well-known but are also of considerable significance. In the Caribbean, members of the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) have agreed that business education should be concentrated in Antigua and that technical teacher training should be concentrated in St. Lucia. Similarly, under the Consortium on Pacific Education (COPE), American Samoa, Western Samoa and Tonga co-operate by networking their post-secondary institutions. Agreement has been reached that Tonga should be the sub-regional centre for maritime studies, American Samoa for computers, and Western Samoa for mathematics and science.

As already noted, however, regional co-operation is often fragile. It can be effective and valuable, but is not the answer to all problems.

4. Overseas post-secondary education

Because of their limited resources, few small countries can afford local provision of a full range of post-secondary level training. They therefore have to send at least some people abroad. Only large states can contemplate domestic training of surgeons, electrical engineers and clinical psychologists, for example.

As well as meeting a pragmatic need, foreign training has several advantages:

- *Personal horizons.* While abroad, students meet people from different nations (and international links are particularly important for small countries). Also, they gain access to the technologies of other countries; and they are forced to look at their own countries from the outside, thereby balancing their existing view from the inside.
- *Costs.* Although many countries charge full-cost fees, some governments still give substantial subsidies. Moreover, even when the fees are not below unit costs in the host countries, because small countries are often unable to gain economies of scale the costs may still be below those that the sending country would incur if it ran the courses itself. Further, in many cases overseas training may be gained inexpensively through external aid packages.
- *Flexibility.* Small countries which send students abroad have a great choice of institutions. If they are not satisfied with one institution, then they can send their students to another. Also, if demand for training in a particular subject falls, they simply stop sending people. If they had set up domestic institutions, a fall in demand could have serious consequences.

Whereas many small states send their students to a wide range of institutions on a rather *ad hoc* basis, some governments make contracts with specific institutions. For example:

- Seychelles has a formal contract with the University of Sussex (UK),
- Gibraltar and the British Virgin Islands have had a similar arrangement with the University of Hull (UK),
- Jersey has a special relationship with the Universities of Exeter and Southampton and with Portsmouth Polytechnic (UK),
- Guyana has formal ties with the Universities of Manchester (UK) and Ohio (USA), and

- Solomon Islands has had particular links with the University of Sydney (Australia).

These special relationships may tie the small states to individual institutions more than is always desirable, but they do mean that a body of staff in each institution develops understanding of the specific circumstances of the small states. For example, the Virgin Islands' contract with the University of Hull required the university to appoint a resident tutor in the islands. This enhanced links between the country and the university, and also promoted some important research which would otherwise not have been undertaken

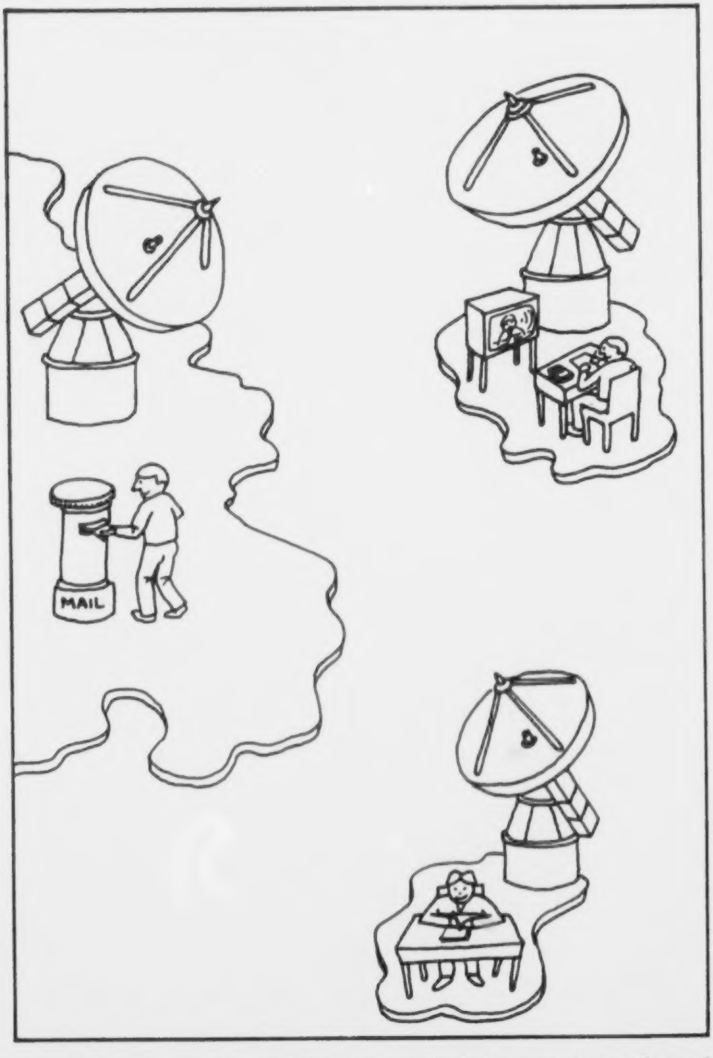
The fact that small states can be in quite a strong bargaining position is illustrated by the fact that the Seychelles arrangement with the University of Sussex was only formalised after the Seychelles government had received tenders from three other institutions in the UK. The Seychelles government also invested in quality control by sending a delegation to visit the institutions before making the final decision. The exercise can require a lot of time and money, but this initial investment is likely to pay off.

External training to limit demands on local institutions

The benefits of external training should be viewed alongside the tendency for institutions in small states to be overstretched. Small states need much the same range of professionals as large states, albeit in smaller numbers. The danger is that governments of small states press their institutions to meet as many needs as possible, with the result that the institutions find themselves spread thinly over too many areas. Decision-makers must set parameters, deciding clearly what training should be at home, and what should be abroad.

5. Distance education

Distance education provides another noteworthy strategy through which small states may gain post-secondary education. It is a key mechanism through which UWI and USP serve their small member countries. By



Distance education is becoming an increasingly important way through which small countries can meet their specialised education needs.

using satellites and other technology, the institutions are able to link students in different countries for interactive tutorial work. Distance education programmes also use printed materials and correspondence.

In other cases, small states use the institutions of larger countries. For example:

- Mauritius has a number of students enrolled on courses of the UK Open University;
- in Macau 300 teachers were trained in the mid-1980s through a correspondence course run by the South China Normal University; and
- Massey University in New Zealand also runs distance education programmes in which South Pacific students have participated.

Of particular significance, at least for Commonwealth countries, is a new agency which makes a wide array of distance-teaching programmes available throughout the Commonwealth. While not specifically focused on the needs of small states, the 'Commonwealth of Learning' could nevertheless be of considerable assistance. Brunei Darussalam has been a major contributor to the Commonwealth of Learning, and is now paying particular attention to the ways in which distance learning can meet its training needs.

Again, however, it is necessary to sound a note of caution. As observed by one writer, effective distance education requires considerable infrastructure to support students in what otherwise becomes "a cold, dispiriting, lonely and difficult activity".[40] Moreover, the fact that students in individual small states who take specific courses are likely to be few in number still militates against production of courses which are completely relevant to those students' needs.

6. The need for training plans

Rational use of resources requires preparation and constant updating of training plans. Such plans should be very specific, identifying individuals, required types of training, sources of finance, institutions in which the training should be received, and the timing and duration of training. Small countries are in a good position to produce this type of detailed information because the potential trainees are few in number. Planners in large countries have to deal in aggregates and generalities in a way that is not necessary for small countries.

Yet despite the obvious value of training plans, in many countries

Distance education and the Commonwealth of Learning

The Commonwealth of Learning was established in 1988 with its headquarters in Vancouver, Canada. It promotes co-operation in distance education within the Commonwealth. Although not set up specifically to help small states, the Commonwealth of Learning may be of great benefit to them. It helps promote education and training in countries which would otherwise be disadvantaged. The Commonwealth of Learning does not itself enrol students. Rather, it facilitates enrolment in existing colleges and universities. Its main thrusts are to:

- *promote development and encourage the sharing of distance-teaching materials,*
- *help with staff training and programme evaluation, and*
- *facilitate the exchange of credit between institutions.*

Write to: COL, 1700-777 Dunsmuir Street, Box 10428,
Vancouver, Canada V7Y 1K4. Fax: 604 660 7472.

they either do not exist at all or are not updated with sufficient regularity. In Solomon Islands, for example, because no proper analysis has yet been carried out on national requirements, most training is only loosely tied to the country's needs. Likewise, one result of the lack of a training plan in Dominica is that individuals who have acquired specialist skills abroad are often discontented on their return because they find little opportunity to use these skills. And in Montserrat there is a tendency for officers "to serve before they are trained and then either to leave after training or to be promoted out of particular positions."[42]

Training plans in all countries, large and small, should take account of such factors as demand for skills, supply of qualified applicants, the relative advantages of overseas compared with domestic training, the budget for training, etc.. Training plans in small countries should include such additional factors as the need for multi-functionalism. This need has already been mentioned in this book. In the words of an administrator in Jersey, training of multi-functional personnel "is a basic necessity for survival, not a mere theoretical interest".[43]

However, it is easier to advocate than to achieve such multi-functional training. Small states do not want 'Jacks of all trades and masters of none'; rather they need 'Jacks of at least several trades, and masters of all of them'. The advice of some senior administrators is to allow individuals to begin by specialising, so that they can at least become masters of limited fields and can build up their self-confidence. Experience suggests that such people will then be able to diversify and to acquire additional specialisms.

In addition to the direct costs of training, planners should consider the opportunity costs. In small states it may be particularly difficult to release staff for training. In a small ministry or statutory body, the absence of three or four people is felt much more seriously than in a large ministry.

The other side of this coin, though, is that small countries are less able afford not to arrange appropriate training. When human resources are scarce, it becomes even more important to maximise efficiency and effectiveness.

7. Summary

Because post-secondary education which is acquired externally in large states often fails to meet social and political needs, many small countries wish to develop their own institutions. Reinforcing this desire are demands for local employment and a concern to reduce outflows of human and financial resources. Institutions of post-secondary education may also be a focus for national pride, which assists the process of nation-building.

Small states are often handicapped in meeting these needs, however. The most obvious constraint is financial. Post-secondary education is expensive, and it is difficult for small states to achieve economies of scale. Small states also face constraints in human resources.

Nevertheless, many small states do succeed in providing their own post-secondary education. Section 3 highlighted four ways through which this has been achieved. Institutions can be enlarged by being made multi-level and multi-faceted, by recruiting foreign students, and by operating on a regional basis.

At the same time, small countries will always require some external training. The challenge for planners is then to determine which types of training are best provided internally, and which types are best sought externally. Planners also need to identify the most appropriate external institutions to meet their countries' needs.

Identifying appropriate courses in foreign institutions

When selecting overseas courses for training, small states may feel disadvantaged by a lack of information about what is available. This need may be reduced through personal contacts, e.g. with visiting consultants and with staff of institutions in which Ministry officers have already received training. However, several publications might provide more systematics information. Perhaps the most useful are:

- *a UNESCO publication entitled* Study Abroad. *It is updated every three years, and is available from: UNESCO, 7 place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris, France. As well as a list of courses, it includes a directory of international organisations and scholarships.*
- The Commonwealth Universities Yearbook, *published annually by the Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, UK. The Yearbook does not include information on courses, but it does list addresses, staff and departments in Commonwealth Universities.*

Additional publications available through commercial outlets include:

- *Commission of the European Communities,* Higher Education in the European Community: A Directory of Courses and Institutions in 12 Countries, *Kogan Page, London. [revised every few years]*
- The World of Learning, *Europa Publications, London. [revised every two years; contains addresses of institutions, but no information on courses]*

The chapter has also commented on distance education. Strategies for training have become increasingly sophisticated in recent years, and may be particularly valuable for small countries.

Finally, the chapter stressed the importance of detailed training plans. Although the need for such plans might seem obvious, many small countries in fact do not have such plans. This leads to waste and dissatisfaction. Of course it is impossible to do everything; but it is suggested that preparation and updating of training plans should be among planners' priorities.

Part III:

Conclusions

Chapter 8

Making small beautiful

This final chapter pulls together the threads of the preceding discussion. It takes its title from E.F. Schumacher's famous book *Small is Beautiful*, though it recognises that small sometimes has to be *made* beautiful and that this is among the tasks of the educational planner. The first two sections summarise previous discussion on the development issues facing small countries and on the nature of their education systems. The third section makes additional comments on approaches and expertise for educational planning; and the final section remarks on some needs for the future.

1. Small countries and development issues

Not all small countries are poor. Indeed, some have very high per capita incomes. Similarly, small developing countries tend to have more favourable indices than other developing countries in such areas as adult literacy, life expectancy at birth, and infant mortality. Nevertheless, small countries do still face distinctive development constraints.

Intrinsic problems facing small countries

Discussion here will focus on six areas. They are: poor resource endowment, proneness to natural disasters, problems in transport and communications, limited domestic markets, dependence on foreign capital, and disproportionate expenditure on administration.

(i) Resource scarcity. Poor resource endowment is generally considered a particular handicap to small island developing countries. Inadequate water supplies create constant threats to island communities. Few islands possess rivers, creeks or lakes. With some exceptions (e.g. Brunei Darussalam, Trinidad & Tobago, Nauru), small countries also suffer from a paucity of mineral resources.

(ii) Proneness to natural disasters. The high occurrence of natural disasters with devastating effects in small countries is a matter of record. Tropical cyclones, erupting volcanoes, earthquakes and landslides have caused enormous material damage and loss of life. Tropical cyclones are essentially a feature of warm oceans, coastal regions and islands. The same winds over larger land masses and temperate seas decrease in intensity and violence. Over the last decade numerous incidents have adversely affected economic and social activities in small islands. Some examples were given in Chapter 1.

(iii) Transport and communications. International transportation costs are higher for small island developing countries than for other developing countries. This fact is explained by remoteness, by low the volumes of individual shipments, and by frequent imbalance between export and import volumes. Technological innovations in the form of the long-haul wide-bodied passenger jets and increased containerised cargo traffic have paved the way for economies of cargo size whereby small countries with limited cargo availability are left out of major trunk routes entirely, or at best are only very infrequently called upon by ocean liners.

(iv) Domestic and external markets. Domestic markets in small states are generally limited and narrow. The maximum, let alone optimum, technologically efficient scale of plant that can be introduced in small economies renders some productive activities completely uneconomical unless a substantial export market is available. As a result of these limitations, the rate of growth of the economy in a small country tends to be primarily a function of the rate of growth of exports of goods and services. Exports are typically concentrated on one or two products, whereas imports are very diverse. The small-country economy is this dependent on foreign trade, but lacks the capacity to influence the prices or quotas of the international market.

(v) Foreign capital. In small developing states, a substantial proportion of available capital is owned and controlled by foreign organisations. Also, governments tend to rely on external grants and loans. Many external investors and lenders have access to superior talent, and this

places the small states in a difficult bargaining position.

(vi) Expenditure on administration. Certain jobs need to be done whether a country is large or small. They include operation of a range of ministries, publication of budgets, and establishment of a legal system. Evidence shows that in small countries the government bureaucracy is proportionately much greater than in large countries, and it is often difficult to achieve economies of scale in administration.

Assets gained by small countries

As pointed out at the beginning of this book, however, the picture is not all negative. The box on the next page compares the implications of independent statehood with incorporation in larger units. Each type of situation has advantages and disadvantages. Many small states have capitalised on their statehood by developing tax havens, and by selling passports and 'flags of convenience' for the shipping industry. Some small countries even derive substantial revenue from the sale of postage stamps.

It has also been pointed out that small countries gain prominence from the fact that they *are* countries. Many small-country governments use their sovereignty to great effect when 'bargaining' with larger countries over regional spheres of influence. Moreover, overall per capita receipts of aid are higher in small countries than in larger ones.

2. Education systems in small countries

These development challenges have many implications for the education systems of small countries. Chapter 2 noted that small states need most of the basic types of specialist personnel also required in large states, but they need them in smaller numbers. The greatest problems arise in the 'all or none' cases where important specialist work needs to be done but there is insufficient work to employ an individual full time. This requires an element of multi-functionalism not found in large states, and has implications for both training and employment policies. Chapter 2 also pointed out that the margin of acceptable error in manpower planning is much narrower in small states than in large ones.

The economic analysis also suggests that many education systems need a strong international focus. Dependence on foreign trade may require pupils to learn major international languages, and this curriculum emphasis may be at the expense of a local orientation. The geo-

Is it better to be a separate country or part of a larger one?

This question has been lucidly addressed by Mike Faber in a paper entitled 'Island Micro-States: Problems of Viability' (*The Round Table*, No.292, 1984, p.373). His comment on the pros and cons of sovereignty is worth reproducing at length:

> "As an example of an island on the periphery of an industrialized country, let us consider the island of Colonsay in the Hebrides [UK]. It cannot pass its own laws. It cannot set up its own courts. It cannot establish its own central bank. It cannot issue its own currency. It cannot conduct its own foreign policy or join international organizations. More specifically, it cannot make its own personal tax laws as Jersey and Guernsey do in order to attract millionaires and investment trusts. It cannot offer particularly favourable treatment for companies as Bermuda does. It cannot become a haven for offshore banks like the Cayman Islands and Vanuatu. It cannot live off offshore oil revenue because that will be taken by the central government (ask the Orkneys and Shetland Islands); it cannot issue its own stamps as Tuvalu does. It cannot open casinos which can be used to launder money like Nassau has. It cannot rent out fishing rights in its exclusive economic zone like Kiribati and the Solomon Islands. It cannot lease bases to foreign military powers like the Wake Islands and Guam do. It cannot charge great powers for not leasing out bases to potentially hostile powers as some of the Western Pacific Islands are seeking to do.
>
> "But there are very considerable advantages to being an island community on the periphery of a major nation. It is convenient to divide these into what I shall call 'rights of access' and 'subsidized services'. Rights of access embrace the right to migrate, the right to leave the small community and enter the larger one for higher education and to seek employment, to benefit from better career opportunities; to have an opportunity to play a more testing role on the larger stage. These are better viewed as advantages for individuals who happen to be born in peripheral communities, rather than advantages for those peripheral communities themselves.... There is the right of access too to expert and specialist services from the centre. And perhaps most important of all -- there is the right of access to national markets, free of tariffs or special quotas.
>
> "The other category of advantages are subsidized services, and these indeed bring benefits to the community as a whole. Amongst the services which will be subsidized for a Hebridean community will be postal and telephone services, the construction and maintenance of roads, the provision of electric power, schools, ferry services, medical services (which may often include the provision of a helicopter for emergency cases), agricultural subsidies ..., unemployment and other social benefits to the extent that unemployment in peripheral areas is likely to be greater than in the centre."

graphy, social studies and history syllabuses are also likely to be dominated by an international orientation; and in some countries specialist training institutions may have to be established to facilitate foreign trade.

Dependence on remittances from migrants also has major implications for education systems. In particular:

- Migration is facilitated if potential migrants can speak the languages of the host countries. This requires the schools to teach those languages, again perhaps at the expense of local languages.
- Dependence on migration may require small states to follow the syllabuses and examinations of larger states, so that the small-state nationals can present credentials accepted in the larger states.
- Governments of small states which wish to attract migrants home in order to make use of their economic and leadership skills may suffer further pressure to imitate the education systems of large states. Migrants are less willing to return if they think that schooling for their children will be inferior.
- The migrants who do return bring with them ideas based on their experiences in the larger countries. These ideas may not always be appropriate, but may be difficult to resist because they are perceived as more 'progressive'.
- Institutions may be opened specifically with overseas employment in mind. For example Tuvalu, Kiribati and Tonga all have Marine Training Schools to train workers for external employment.

This book has also highlighted the implications of foreign aid for education systems in small countries. While aid may be very beneficial, Chapter 4 has shown that it can sometimes be rather overwhelming and can distort priorities. The magnitude of aid also has major implications for educational planners. Staff of planning units are often key individuals in the negotiation and implementation of aid schemes. Their familiarity with the jargon and operating procedures of donor organisations may be a critical factor in securing the types and quantities of aid desired by the government.

The book has also commented on constraints on the breadth of education systems. Small countries may find it difficult to meet the special needs of the handicapped, the specially talented, and children from diverse cultures. This is because specialist institutions may be uneconomical to run without a minimum number of clients, and it may be hard to recruit talented staff from a small pool. Again, however, many countries do provide a very impressive range of opportunities.

A final point worth repeating in this summary of key features concerns the sensitivity of education systems. Small systems may be more sensitive to the impact of individual leaders. They may also be more responsive to innovation. Administrators can know their colleagues and the schools on a very personal basis, and may be able to identify bottlenecks more easily. Of course, responsiveness may have a negative as well as a positive side, particularly when the innovations are not good ones! However, the sensitivity of small countries is a feature which many administrators in large countries envy.

3. Planners and planning

Hans Weiler, former director of the IIEP, has stressed that the nature of educational planning depends very much on its specific environment. This implies that the definition of what the educational planner should be, know, do, and not do is very much a function of the characteristics of the social and political system within which the planner has to operate. As a result, Weiler pointed out:[44]

> Educational planners, although carrying the same organizational label, may vary widely from one country to another as to their tasks, qualifications, and responsibilities, and, by consequence, their training.

It has been argued in this book that although the work of educational planners in small and large countries is in many ways similar, it also bears important differences.

The book has also made points about the supply of expertise for educational planning. Some ministries in small countries do not have planning units at all, and even the ones that do have only small units. This stresses the need, even more than in large countries, for a diffuse definition of planners and planning. In small countries it is essential to make good use of all available expertise, and this often requires ministry officials to work both with counterparts in other parts of the government and with community members in the non-government sector. Such arrangements have many advantages, for plans are drawn up with stronger participation and awareness. At least in ideal circumstances this makes the plans a better reflection of national priorities, and it improves the prospects of effective implementation.

The book has also pointed out that in small countries, national planning is also micro-planning. Planners in small countries are inevitably concerned with details of school location, logistics and personalities in a way that is not true of their counterparts in larger systems. They must also deal with the constraints of 'managed intimacy', operating in societies in which almost everybody knows almost everybody else. While in positive circumstances the close interpersonal relationships of small states can be a strong asset, they can also be a force for conservatism and conflict.

* * *

Small may still be complex

Mohammed Waheed Hassan, Director of Education Services in Maldives, has pointed out that:[45]

> Educational planning in small countries is sometimes thought to be less of a challenge than in large countries. The experience in Maldives and in other small countries indicates otherwise.

He continued:

> Small but complex societies have their unique problems in the planning and management of education. These include remoteness and isolation of small communities, no economies of scale, greater transparency, closely knit social organizations, heavy dependence on external assistance and critical shortage of essential manpower.

Hassan's point is certainly valid. It also stresses the need for more careful analysis of the differences in planning between small and larger countries.

* * *

4. The way forward

The original (1987) version of this book concluded with the observations that:

- the study of educational planning in small states has been a neglected topic, and that
- a lot more research is needed on the subject.

Preparing this revised version five years later it is evident that the literature on the topic, and overall conceptual understanding, have developed markedly in the intervening period. This is indeed welcome. However, much more work needs to be done (i) by planners, educators and researchers in small countries themselves, (ii) by their counterparts in larger countries who have links with small countries, and (iii) by international organisations.

Obvious focal points within small countries are universities and other institutions of higher education. This links back to a point made in Chapter 7 about the leadership functions of such institutions. However, even in small countries without their own universities it is still possible to promote a critical climate. The 'further reading' section of this book lists many valuable papers written by individuals in small states without universities. This book has quoted extensively from writers in such countries as Maldives, Seychelles, Jersey and Solomon Islands.

The items listed in the further reading section also include many works written by scholars in medium-sized and large countries. This pattern is also much to be welcomed. The work helps to increase awareness within larger countries of the circumstances facing small countries. Moreover, many of the items have been produced in conjunction with colleagues in smaller countries, and represent a valuable form of partnership. Through such joint operations, educators and researchers in small countries can gain access to information and intellectual stimulus which might be lacking at home.

With regard to the international organisations, this publication is itself part of an increased concern about the needs of small countries within UNESCO. The body is paying increasing attention to these needs, both through its regional offices and through its headquarters. A special round-table, hosted jointly with the Commonwealth Secretariat, was devoted to small-state issues at an International Congress on Educational Planning and Management held in 1990 in Mexico. UNESCO has also established a unit for relations with small states to collect information on the needs of such states and to co-ordinate the organisation's response to their problems.

The co-sponsorship of the Mexico congress was just one among the Commonwealth Secretariat's many activities. In 1985 the Secretariat pioneered conceptual work with a meeting in Mauritius of educators from small states in all regions of the world. That meeting led to a series of specific programmes focusing on, among other targets, post-secondary colleges in small states, and the organisation and management of ministries of education in these states. The Commonwealth Secretariat has played, and continues to play, a very important role in the field.

Other development agencies, it must be admitted, have been slower to give special consideration to the needs of small countries. For example in the World Bank, staff have generally preferred large projects even to medium-sized ones, let alone small ones. This, they argue, is because they can reach more people in larger countries for the same amount of effort in project design. It is also because larger projects attract more prestige. Similar comments apply to the Asian Development Bank and other multilateral bodies.

However, even in these institutions there are signs of greater sensitivity to small-country perspectives. The Asian Development Bank's 1988 education sector policy paper noted that:[46]

> the small island and archipelagic countries, as well as the small land-locked countries, have special problems which cannot be addressed adequately by development strategies based on models derived from large-country paradigms, and intervention strategies suitable to their special situation need to be developed.

Likewise the World Bank has supported an increasing number of projects in small countries. For example in 1991 the Bank initiated a major study of higher education needs and strategies among the small states of the South Pacific. This is a welcome trend, and it is up to the small countries themselves to push for further change.

Meanwhile, it remains appropriate to close this edition of the book with the same words as used previously: a lot more research is needed, to identify the extent to which generalisations are or are not valid, and to explore the circumstances of particular countries. It is hoped that readers will be encouraged to undertake this type of research. UNESCO may be able to help with advice and training, and would certainly like to know about your conclusions. Write to:

Mark Bray,
Department of Education,
University of Hong Kong,
Pokfulam Road,
Hong Kong.

[Fax: (852) 858 5649]

and/or:

The Director,
Educational Policies and
Management Unit,
UNESCO, 7 place de Fontenoy,
75700 Paris, France.

[Fax: (33) 1 40 65 94 05)]

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Porter (eds.), *Australian Overseas Aid: Future Directions*, Croom Helm, Sydney; Meita Beiabure Bakeea (1991): 'Kiribati', in Bray (ed.) *Ministries of Education in Small States*, op. cit..

26. Patrick Pillay & Atputhanathan Murugiah (1991): 'Seychelles', in Bray (ed.) *Ministries of Education in Small States*, op. cit., p.69.
27. Tsekoa, op. cit., p.5.
28. Hassan, op. cit., p.8
29. Royal Government of Bhutan (1989): 'Country paper of the Royal Government of Bhutan prepared for the south and central regional consultation on education for all', Department of Education, Ministry of Social Services, Thimphu, p.3.
30. Republic of Maldives (1990): *The Edhuruge*, Ministry of Education, Male'.
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32. Brian Garvey & J.M. Wood (1988): *Report on the Re-organisation of the Ministry of Education*, Ministry of Education, Youth, Sports and Culture, Banjul/ Overseas Development Administration, London, p.18.
33. Leland Jones & Roy Rathan (1989): 'Planning in Grenada', paper presented at the CARNEID workshop on the derivation of education plans, Castries, St. Lucia, p.1.
34. Government of Barbados (1988): *Development Plan 1988-1993*, Government Printer, Bridgetown.
35. Atapana Siakimotu (Chairperson) (1988): *Educating the Niue of Tomorrow: Report of the Committee to Review the Niue Education System*, Education Department, Alofi.
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39. The Commonwealth Secretariat (1988): *A Pan-Commonwealth Meeting on Post-Secondary Colleges in the Small States of the Commonwealth: Summary Report*, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London, p.9.
40. Simon Gillett (1983): 'Developing St. Helena', *Public Administration and Development*, Vol.3, No.2, p.160.
41. Hilary Perraton (1987): 'Distance education in small nation states', in Kazim Bacchus & Colin Brock (eds.), *The Challenge of Scale: Educational Development in the Small States of the*

Commonwealth, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London, p.81.

42. Howard Fergus & Albert L. Thomas (1991): 'Montserrat', in Bray (ed.), *Ministries of Education in Small States*, op. cit., p.174.
43. John Rodhouse (1991): 'Jersey', in Bray (ed.), *Ministries of Education in Small States*, op. cit.
44. Weiler, op. cit., p.111.
45. Hassan, op. cit., p.1.
46. Asian Development Bank (1988): *Education and Development in Asia and the Pacific*, Asian Development Bank, Manila, pp.69-70.

Further reading

This guide to further reading is divided into two parts. It begins with broad literature on development issues in small countries, before turning to the specific literature on education. The guide cannot of course be exhaustive; but it does indicate some key works which should be available in good libraries and through inter-library loans.

The guide is mainly concerned with works that deliberately address issues of smallness, as opposed ones which merely focus on countries which happen to be small (but fail to draw out the implications of smallness for the nature of development). An extensive additional literature exists on planning concepts and techniques which are applicable to countries of all sizes. This literature has not been included here since bibliographies and references are readily available elsewhere.

1. General literature on development in small countries

Baker, Randall (ed.) (1992): *Administrative Characteristics of Small and Island States*, Kumarian Press, West Hartford, Connecticut.

> The book argues that the thinking and strategies of administrators in small countries who follow administrative models from large industrialised nations may be impractical. Accordingly, the book urges public service professionals to re-evaluate their approach to public administration. The various chapters examine both broad issues and case studies. The countries covered by the latter include Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, United Arab Emirates, Yap, Fiji and Malta.

Benedict, Burton (ed.) (1967): *Problems of Smaller Territories*, Athlone Press, London.

> This was among the first books in the field, and still has much material of interest and relevance. Four opening papers focus on demographic, political, economic and social considerations. They are followed by case studies of British Honduras, Luxembourg and Swaziland. The final chapter focuses on legislative-executive relations.

Clarke, Colin & Payne, Tony (eds.) (1987): *Politics, Security and Development in Small States*, Allen & Unwin, London.

> Part A of this book examines the political aspects, social features, economic issues and security dilemmas of small states. Part B presents case studies of Grenada,

Antigua & Barbuda, Fiji, Mauritius, The Gambia, Swaziland, Malta and Cyprus. Part C presents academic and policy perspectives on small-state issues.

Connell, John (1988): *Sovereignty & Survival: Island Microstates in the Third World*, Research Monograph No.3, Department of Geography, University of Sydney, Sydney.

Connell presents a very thorough and insightful analysis of the development issues facing island microstates. Specific chapters examine self-reliance and interdependence; population, health and employment; international migration and remittances; agriculture and rural development; fisheries; industrial development; services; regional cooperation; and trade and aid.

Dommen, Edward & Hein, Philippe (eds.) (1985): *States, Microstates and Islands*, Croom Helm, London.

The book begins with a definitional paper entitled 'What is a microstate?'. Other chapters focus on anthropological and sociological theories, economic performance, aid, and foreign trade. The last chapter is particularly valuable, focusing on public administration in microstates.

Georges, P.T. (ed.) (1985): *Vulnerability: Small States in the Global Society*, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

This is the report of a Commonwealth group on the security needs of small states. The report was stimulated by the 1983 military invasion of Grenada, and examines "the vulnerability of small states to external attack and interference in their affairs". It analyses the nature of the problem, and identifies ways to reduce vulnerability.

Harden, Sheila (ed.) (1985): *Small is Dangerous: Micro States in a Macro World*, Frances Pinter, London.

Harden's book focuses on the security problems of small states. It begins by defining the scope of the problem, before moving to the place of microstates in the international system. Chapter 3 examines microstates and international law, while Chapters 4 and 5 comment on security forces and 'prevention, anticipation and cure'. The book concludes with a set of recommendations.

Jalan, Bimal (ed.) (1982): *Problems and Policies in Small Economies*, Croom Helm, London.

This book has 14 chapters. The first two are broad, and describe characteristics and classification of small economies. Subsequent chapters focus on long-term growth, development planning, industrialisation, agriculture, foreign investment, balance of payments, transport, and tourism.

Lewis, Vaughan A. (ed.) (1976): *Size, Self-Determination and International Relations: The Caribbean*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica.

The 15 papers in this book cover a wide range of topics. They begin with concepts of independence and viability, and include discussion of demography, bureaucracy as a problem-solving mechanism, dependency, regional integration, resource mobilisation, politics, foreign economic policy, and international law.

Rapoport, J., Muteba, E. & Therattil, J. (1971): *Small States & Territories: Status and Problems*, Arno Press, New York.

This early work in the field set the framework for much subsequent analysis. It was produced under the auspices of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research. The three parts focus on (a) general considerations, (b) status, problems and difficulties of small states and territories, and (c) action which the United Nations might consider. It is instructive to read the book in the 1990s to see both what has changed and what has not.

Schahczenski, Jeffrey J. (1990): 'Development administration in the small developing state: A review', *Public Administration and Development*, Vol.10, No.1, pp.69-80.

Schahczenski's paper reviews arguments about the political and administrative practices of small developing states and the consequences of smallness in promoting development. It is a useful clarification of issues. [Note: The journal in which the article appears has over the years published many other articles on public administration in small states. Some are general analyses, and others are case studies of such countries as Niue, St. Helena, Turks & Caicos Islands, Anguilla and Netherlands Antilles.]

Schumacher, E.F. (1984): *Small is Beautiful: A Study of Economics as if People Mattered*, Abacus, London.

This famous and much-quoted book is more concerned with the economic structure of the Western world than with small states per se. Nevertheless it contains many thought-provoking ideas, and sets a positive framework within which small states might see their identity.

Selwyn, Percy (ed.) (1975): *Development Policy in Small Countries*, Croom Helm, London.

The 10 papers, originally written for a conference held in Barbados, cover a wide range of development issues. They include the politics of dependence, diversity and diversification, industrial development in peripheral countries, administrative problems, monetary policy, and development aid.

Shand, R.T. (ed.) (1980): *The Island States of the Pacific and Indian Oceans: Anatomy of Development*, Monograph 23, Development Studies Centre, Australian National University, Canberra.

This book has 24 chapters divided into 9 sections. The introductory section is a useful account of definitions and implications. Subsequent sections focus on agriculture, fisheries and remoteness; population and migration; trade, transport and tourism; finance and economic stability; health and education; administration, law and politics; and development strategies and aid. The book concludes with an assessment of issues and prospects.

Throsby, C.D. (ed.) (1987): *Human Resources Development in the Pacific*, Pacific Policy Papers No.3, National Centre for Development Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

This book has nine chapters. The introductory section sets the background and overview, and the other three sections focus on health, education and labour

markets. Chapters in the education section analyse policy dilemmas, nonformal education, human capital in Papua New Guinea, and education and training in Solomon Islands.

2. Literature on education in small countries

Atchoarena, David (1988): 'La planification de l'éducation et de la formation en milieu micro-insulaire', *Formation-Développement*, No.80, pp.55-62.

Atchoarena focuses primarily on the states of the Eastern Caribbean. He comments on the increased complexity of circumstances facing these states in the post-colonial era, and examines the role of education as a factor in development. Comments are made about technical and higher education, as well as about the school system.

Attwood, James & Bray, Mark (1989): 'Wealthy but small and young: Brunei Darussalam and its education system', *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol.16, No.1, pp.70-82.

Because of its wealth from petroleum, Brunei Darussalam has one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. This enables one to identify constraints arising from size which are entirely separate from the constraints of shortage of money. The paper pays particular attention to the University of Brunei Darussalam, which is well endowed but still faces problems of smallness.

Bacchus, Kazim & Brock, Colin (eds.) (1987): *The Challenge of Scale: Educational Development in the Small States of the Commonwealth*, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

This book was among the principal outcomes of a Commonwealth Secretariat meeting in Mauritius in 1985, and was a seminal work in the field. Its 14 chapters include analysis of problems of policy and development; the professional development of educational personnel; curriculum and materials; provision of post-secondary education; technical education; regional cooperation; distance education; and aid for education.

Bacchus, M.K. (1989): 'Educational needs of small nation states with special reference to education at the post-secondary level', *Canadian and International Education*, Vol.18, No.2, pp.5-17.

Discussion begins with the structural features of small states. The paper then analyses the nature and amount of education which these nations would require in order to reduce their economic and cultural vulnerability. Two major development strategies are highlighted, and the paper discusses the implications of these strategies for post-secondary education.

Bennell, Paul & Oxenham, John (1983): 'Skills and qualifications for small island states', *Labour and Society*, Vol.8, No.1, pp.14-37.

Beginning with development strategies, the article devotes separate sections to wage/salary employment, the public sector, self-employment in the rural and fishing economy, and the urban informal sector. It then notes education and training strategies to fit these sectors. It concludes by stressing the need for flexibility and imagination.

Bray, Mark (1990): 'Provision of higher education in small states: Demands, constraints and strategies', *Higher Education Quarterly*, Vol.44, No.3, pp.264-81.

The paper begins with the demand for higher education, noting social, political, economic and educational factors. It then turns to the ways that small states have met that demand. A particular need is to find ways to secure economies of scale. Five models are examined, namely multi-level institutions; multi-faceted institutions; international recruitment of students; regional cooperation; and distance education.

Bray, Mark et al. (1991): *Making Small Practical: The Organisation and Management of Ministries of Education in Small States*, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

This work aims to be a practical resource book for senior administrators and trainers of personnel for small states. It is partly based on a set of 14 case studies prepared for a Commonwealth project (see below). Individual chapters include focus on public administration in small states; formal organisation of ministries of education; the management of small ministries; personnel and training; and international linkages.

Bray, Mark (ed.) (1991): *Ministries of Education in Small States: Case Studies of Organisation and Management*, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

This book presents edited versions of the case studies prepared for the Commonwealth project mentioned above. The countries covered are: Botswana, The Gambia, Seychelles, Brunei Darussalam, Maldives, Barbados, Dominica, Guyana, Montserrat, St. Lucia, Jersey, Malta, Kiribati and Solomon Islands.

Bray, Mark & Fergus, Howard (1986): 'The implications of size for educational development in small countries: Montserrat, a Caribbean case study', *Compare*, Vol.16, No.1, pp.91-102.

With a population of 12,000 and an area of 106 square kilometres, Montserrat is among the smallest of the small. However, it gains benefits as well as problems from its size and status. The article focuses on nationhood and international aid, a dominant bureaucracy, the pool of talent, emigration, representation in international organisations, cooperation between and within ministries, regional cooperation, curriculum, and special education.

Bray, Mark & Hui, Philip (1989): 'The implications of size for educational development in small territories: The case of Macau', *International Review of Education*, Vol.35, No.2, pp.129-43.

Macau is officially described as a 'Chinese territory under Portuguese administration'. It has a population of about 500,000 and an area of 17 square kilometres. This paper focuses on the implications of small size for higher education, teacher training, administration, curricula, and special needs. Macau's university is particularly interesting, for it gains economies of scale by massive recruitment from other places.

Bray, Mark & Packer, Steve (1992): *Education in Small States: Concepts, Challenges and Strategies*, Pergamon, Oxford.

> The book is divided into four parts. The first presents a conceptual framework with discussion of dimensions of scale and the politics, economics and societies of small states. Part 2 analyses issues facing small systems, particularly in the range of educational provision, administration, curriculum, regional cooperation and foreign aid. Part 3 presents case studies of Montserrat, Brunei Darussalam, Macau and Bhutan. Part 4 discusses the emergence of a theory, before summarising challenges and strategies.

Brock, Colin (1984): *Scale, Isolation and Dependence: Educational Development in Island Developing and other Specially Disadvantaged States*, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

> Brock's work was among the first Commonwealth Secretariat publications in this area. It poses key questions e.g. on the range of educational provision that small states can support, and on ways that the high cost of systems associated with traditional forms of education can be reduced. The book presents answers as found through a survey of 12 Commonwealth small states. It also gives special consideration to isolation and dependence.

Brock, Colin (1988a): 'Beyond the fringe? Small states and the provision of education', *Comparative Education*, Vol.24, No.2, pp.167-79

> The article relates some aspects of the concept of peripherality to the issue of educational provision in small island states. Because many such states are products of the formative period of our world economic order, their entire being, including the provision of formal education, could be described as generically peripheral. The second half of the paper relates the centre-periphery idea to contemporary issues of structure and curriculum.

Brock, Colin (1988b): 'Education and national scale: The world of small states', *Prospects*, Vol.18, No.3, pp.303-14.

> The first part of the paper focuses on the nature of scale, isolation and dependence. It includes discussion of links between education and the labour market, unit costs, and migration. The second part asks whether regionalism is the answer. It comments on the Universities of the West Indies and the South Pacific, and on several other regional organisations and institutions. It concludes that although regionalism may seem a ready-made answer, it has not yet been able to solve all problems.

Brock, Colin & Parker, Roy (1985): 'School and community in situations of close proximity: The question of small states', in Kevin Lillis (ed.), *School and Community in Less Developed Areas*, Croom Helm, London, pp.42-56.

> The chapter examines linkages between education systems and their communities in small systems, taking as case studies St. Lucia, Tonga, Grenada and Kiribati. It suggests that links are much stronger, especially in compact countries, and that this is a strong advantage.

Brock, Colin & Smawfield, David (1988): 'Education and development: The issue of small states', *Educational Review*, Vol.40, No.2, pp.227-39.

> The paper begins with discussion of the nature of smallness and of scale, isolation and dependence. It notes that small states generally have fewer policy options and a narrower margin for error, but that they also have certain advantages. The conclusion stresses a need for flexibility in training of educators and administrators. Specialist management skills and structures derived from large states do not promote the polyvalency needed in small states.

Commonwealth Secretariat, The (1986): *Educational Development: The Small States of the Commonwealth - Report of a Pan-Commonwealth Experts Meeting, Mauritius*, 1985, Education Programme, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

> This is the report of the first major conference of its kind, which brought together educators from small states in all parts of the Commonwealth. Separate chapters focus on post-secondary education, distance education, dependence and interdependence, external assistance, and the particular needs of archipelago countries. A set of proposals for action formed the agenda for subsequent Commonwealth Secretariat work in the field.

Commonwealth Secretariat, The (1988): *A Pan-Commonwealth Meeting on Post-Secondary Colleges in the Small States of the Commonwealth: Summary Report*, Education Programme, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

> This document summarises the processes and outcomes of a meeting held in St. Lucia in 1988. Taking its lead from the 1985 Mauritius meeting, the St. Lucia meeting investigated in depth one particular aspect of small-states needs. It noted reasons for the proliferation of community colleges, and commented both on needs and on ways in which those needs might be met.

Edelstein, Wolfgang (1971): 'The social context of educational planning in Iceland', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, Vol.15, No.4, pp.169-91.

> Although size was only one of the aspects examined, this was among the first articles to examine the implications of smallness for educational planning. It noted the advantages of strong interpersonal connections, though stressed the danger that such connections could make planning conservative and controversial.

Farrugia, Charles & Attard, Paul (1989): *The Multi-Functional Administrator: Educational Development in the Small States of the Commonwealth*, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

> This book is part of the Commonwealth Secretariat's 'Challenge of Scale' series. It begins by identifying characteristics of small states and their administrations. Subsequent chapters focus on time management, recruitment of staff, appraisal, curriculum development, professional development, and administration of educational resources. Designed for trainers as well as practitioners, each chapter contains a set of follow-up activities.

Jones, David R., Meek, V. Lynn & Weeks, John (eds.) (1991): *Explorations in Higher Education: A South Pacific Critique*, Centre for the Study of Higher Education, University of Melbourne.

> Although the editors of this book are based at the University of New England (Australia), most of the authors of the nine chapters work in the smaller states of the South Pacific. The book contains important discussion of expectations, roles and models of higher education. As one would expect, discussion of the University of the South Pacific features prominently, but the book also contains discussion of other types of institution. The book contributes important insights of relevance well beyond the specific context of the South Pacific.

Packer, Steve (1990): 'Post-secondary education in the small states of the Commonwealth', in Carol Coombe (ed.), *International Development Programmes in Higher Education*, Annex: Special Papers, Education Programme, The Commonwealth Secretariat, London, pp.47-68.

> The objectives of the paper are (i) to provide an overview of post-secondary education in the small states of the Commonwealth; (ii) to outline the critical issues in developing post-secondary education; (iii) to indicate existing forms of cooperation; and (iv) to highlight directions and potential for future cooperation. The paper discusses regional as well as national institutions.

Prospects (1991): Vol.XXI, No.4.

> A special issue of this UNESCO journal is devoted to education in small states. An introductory article examines the growth of international interest and the emergence of a theory. Other broad articles focus on curriculum issues, post-secondary education, and cooperation between small states. Case-studies focus on Botswana, Malta, the Eastern Caribbean states, and the South Pacific states.

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